

Kirk del.

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*Seizure of the Infant Iwan
by order of the Empress Elizabeth*

Published Dec. 1. 1797. by E. Newbery, corner of St. Pauls.

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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST CELEBRATED

VOYAGES,
TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES,

FROM THE

TIME OF COLUMBUS

TO THE

PRESENT PERIOD.

"Non apis inde tulit collectas sedula flores." Ovid.

By WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.

VOL. XX.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR E. NEWBERRY,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD,

1797.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

NOTES

TRAVEL AND DISCOVERIES

IN THE

TO

OF THE



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THE plan of this volume will be found to correspond in some measure with that of the tenth. It records a few affecting incidents and striking adventures, which could not be so properly introduced in the body of the work. Such little narratives are often more valuable than many large volumes: one trait of the heart, one instance of patience under suffering, and of fortitude in danger, gives a lesson more impressive than the most elaborate general description.

As we are now about to close our present labours, it is natural to take a retrospective view of what has been performed; and to feel some anxiety for the public opinion of the whole. That many valuable works of voyages and travels have in this collection, for the first time, been presented in a new dress, and in a more concentrated form, will be evident to every reader of discernment and research. The pains that have been taken, however, to exhibit our volumes free from whatever might offend delicacy, injure morals, or give a wrong bias to the mind, will be appreciated by those only who are well acquainted with the nature of the subject, and

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know how difficult it is, from such a variety of matter, to extract a consistent whole. In similar plans, perhaps, little attention has been paid to such objects: the desire of contributing to amusement alone, has frequently superseded the more important ends of writing.

Yet, while it was our constant aim, to avoid whatever might injure or offend, in following the different voyagers or travellers through every stage of refined and savage life, it was necessary to give a proper idea of manners as they appeared in each; and while we consulted propriety, not to sacrifice the discriminations of character, or to give the same shades of colouring to the elegant and the low, the virtuous and the base.

Sometimes we have found it advisable to allow the authors, from whom we have compiled, to speak in their own persons; but more generally we have adopted the historical form. It would be too tedious to enter into the particular reasons which, in different instances, determined our mode of publication. We will only take the liberty to observe, that we carefully considered what would, in our opinion, be most profitable or pleasing to our readers, without adverting to the difficulty or facility of our task.

Amidst so many volumes as we have gone through, written by men of various erudition, or talents for observation, much diversity of style and manner will necessarily be perceived.

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Some presented only flowers, and invited us to cull; others a wilderness, from which it was difficult to extract a few sweets. Our task has been pleasant or painful, easy or laborious, according to the genius and industry of the original writers.

For what we have done, and for what we have not done, we are aware that we are liable to animadversion, and that different opinions will arise. Our selection embraces as wide a field as our limits would permit; and works of established reputation have generally been preferred; but in our wish to collect some rays of information from every quarter of the globe, we have sometimes been obliged to have recourse to what was less excellent. Our uniform object was to increase the fund of general knowledge; yet we are sensible it is impossible to please every taste in the materials we have chosen; or, within the compass prescribed, to include every work deserving attention. On this subject no two persons will perhaps think alike; and therefore we only crave the indulgence which we are ready to allow.

These explanations we think due to ourselves, and to our numerous subscribers. We have no reason to complain of neglect; and in proportion to the encouragement received, have been the exertions of every person concerned. We, therefore, anticipate the verdict of the public, not with the confidence of desert,

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fert, but with the hope of indulgence, which we have studied to deserve.

The pleasing idea of enlarging the stock of harmless entertainment, and of our volumes living beyond the present day, has soothed many a weary hour, and thrown a gleam of satisfaction over the most painful views. Some private gratification was also mixed with our public expectations: of the former, alas! we are in one instance deprived; because the tongue that would have applauded, is now silent in the dust. This tribute to friendship, is paid with a melancholy pride: the writer may, perhaps, soon want the humble boon he bestows.

NARRATIVE

NARRATIVE
OF THE
CAPTIVITY OF JOSEPH PITTS,
AMONG THE ALGERINES,
AND OF HIS FORTUNATE ESCAPE FROM THE
MAHOMETANS.

Written by himself.

THE easy, unaffected manner in which Mr. Pitts describes his sufferings, while it gives the stamp of authenticity to his narrative, awakens our commiseration for his fate.

Cut off from his country and his friends, without one Christian to console him, or strengthen his resolution, is it to be wondered at, that his fortitude failed him, and that he became an apparent convert to a false religion? But though he has no claims to the courage of a martyr, it is evident that persecution could not convince his judgment, nor make him an apostate in his heart from the pure precepts of Christianity.

He temporized indeed, and became externally a Mahometan; but it appears he was no more; and that with liberty of person he resumed the profession of the religion in which he had been born.

By yielding to the pressure of circumstances, he was admitted into the mosques, and allowed to vi-

fit the supposed sacred places of Mecca and Medina; a privilege that few Christians have ever enjoyed, and therefore objects of the greater curiosity. But we will detain our readers no longer from his own simple and unadorned narrative.

Having a strong inclination to the sea, I entered in the year 1678, when about fourteen or fifteen years of age, on board the *Speedwell*, at Lymson, near Exeter, Mr. George Taylor, master, on a trading voyage to Newfoundland and Bilboa, the Canaries, and then home; but on our coming near the coast of Spain, we had the misfortune to be taken by an Algerine rover, and carried to Algiers.

On our landing, we were carried to the captain's house, where we were allowed only bread and water. The next morning we were conducted to the dey's, who having chosen an eighth part of the slaves for the service of the public, the rest of us were driven to the market-place for the sale of Christians, who are disposed of by way of auction.

I was bought by a man, who treated me with the utmost cruelty, and though it is very uncommon for the Algerines to trouble themselves about the religion of their slaves, my patroon, or master, was continually beating me, in order to force me to become a Mahometan. With this cruel man I lived about two or three months, and he then sent me to sea. I gladly went on board, flattering myself with the hopes of our being taken by some vessels belonging to the Christians. We were out two months, in which we took only one Portuguese ship; and my heart sunk within me on its being resolved to return to Algiers, where I expected to be treated with the same cruelty.

cruelty by my inhuman master, who had staid on shore. But to my great satisfaction, in a few days after my return to that city, he sold me to a person who lived in the country, and had many slaves, both Christians and negroes.

My second patroon had two brothers in Algiers, and one at Tunis; I was bought, in order to be given to the latter, and was very handsomely dressed, to enhance the value of the present. Soon after my patroon and I sailed for Tunis, where we arrived within fourteen or fifteen days. We immediately went to the house of my master's brother. The next day a young man, my patroon's nephew, being proud of having a Christian to wait upon him, made me walk after him, to which I readily consented, from my desire to see the city. As I was attending my new master through the streets, I met with a gentleman dressed like a Christian, who asked me, if I was an Englishman? I answered, Yes. He then enquired how I came thither? to which I replied, I came with my patroon. He then desired to know if I was a slave; and I let him know that I was, and that I came from Algiers. Not being willing to enter into farther discourse in the public street, he invited the young man on whom I waited to come to see him at such an hour of the day, and to bring me to his house; which the youth readily promised.

The gentleman was no sooner gone, than my young master, to my no small pleasure, told me, that he was the English consul. We went at the time appointed, and I was directed to his chamber, while the young spark was eating and drinking in another room. The consul asked me many questions, and among the rest, whether I could

write, and understood arithmetic ; and telling him I could do both tolerable well, he called for pen, ink, and paper, and bid me write a line ; on which I wrote, ' The Lord be my guide, in him will I trust.' He seemed pleased, and after some farther conversation, kindly told me, that if I were left in Tunis, he would order matters to my satisfaction ; but if my patroon designed to carry me back again to Algiers, I should let him know it. Telling me, if I had so much liberty, I should be welcome to come every day to his house.

When I had been at Tunis about thirty days, to my great grief, I heard that my patroon's brother would not accept of me, and that I must return to Algiers. This news I communicated to the consul, who endeavoured to remove my concern, by telling me, that he and two other English merchants would the next day endeavour to procure my redemption ; this, indeed, they attempted, and agreed to give three hundred dollars for me ; but my patroon insisting on five hundred, the consul, when I saw him again, told me that I must have patience, for a hundred pounds was a considerable sum to be contributed by three only. Upon this, bursting into tears, I returned him a thousand thanks for his generous good-will ; when the consul, laying his hand on my head, bid me serve God and be cheerful, and when he returned to England, he would prefer a petition to the king for me.

Thus all my hopes vanished. My patroon returned with me to Algiers ; and some time after, being made captain of a troop of horse, took me with him to the camp, when his brothers being also in the army, the youngest was continually persuading me to turn Mahometan ; and finding

all his arguments ineffectual, he applied to my master, telling him, he had been a debauched man, and a murderer; but that making me a profelyte would atone for his past crimes. Upon this my master, the elder brother, began also to persuade and threaten me, and one day, when his barber came to shave him, he bid me kneel before him, which I did. He then ordered the barber to cut off my hair: I mistrusting them, began to struggle; but by mere force they cut off my hair, and then the barber strove to shave my head, my patroon all the while holding my hands. My head was at length with difficulty shaved, and my patroon would then have me take off my clothes, and put on the Turkish habit; but I plainly told him I would not: whereupon I was dragged away to another tent, where we kept our provisions, and there the cook and the steward stripped me, and one of them held me, while the other put on me the Turkish garb. All this while I kept crying, and told my patroon, that though he had changed my habit, he could not change my heart.

The following night, he used entreaties that I would gratify him, by renouncing my religion. I told him it was against my conscience, and desired him to sell me, and buy another boy, who might perhaps be more easily won; but for my part, I was afraid of being everlastingly damned, if I complied with his request. He told me, he would pawn his soul for mine, and made use of many other importunate expressions. At length, I desired him to let me go to bed, and I would pray to God, and if I found better reasons suggested to my mind for changing my opinion by the next morning, I did not know what I

might do; but if I continued in the same mind, I desired him to say no more on that subject.

To this he agreed, and I went to bed. But he had not patience to stay till the morning for my answer. He awoke me in the night, and asked, what were my sentiments now. I told him they were the same as before: on which he seized my right hand, and endeavoured to make me hold up my fore-finger, as they do in uttering the Mahometan creed; but I bent it down with all my force. When seeing nothing was to be effected without violence, he called two of his servants, and commanded them to tie up my feet with a rope to the post of the tent, which being done, he with a great cudgel beat me on my bare feet, and being a strong man, his blows fell very heavy. I roared out with pain; but the more I cried, the more furiously he laid on, threatening that he would bastinado me to death, if I did not turn, and stamping with his foot on my mouth, to stop the noise of my crying. At which I begged him to dispatch me out of the way; but he continued beating me.

Having endured this merciless usage till I was ready to faint and die under it, and yet saw him as mad and implacable as ever, I begged him to forbear, and I would turn. Breathing a while, he urged me to speak the words *La Allah ellallah, Mohammed resul Allah*: that is, There is but one God, and Mahomet the prophet of God. But I held him in suspense, and at length told him, that I could not speak them: at which he was more enraged than before, and fell upon me again in the most barbarous manner. After having received many more blows, I again besought him to hold his hand, and gave him fresh hopes

of

of my turning Mahometan; but after a short respite, I told him, as before, I could not do what he desired. Thus I held him in suspense three or four times; but at last finding his cruelty insatiable, unless I yielded, and overcame by pain and terror, I spoke the words, holding up the fore-finger of my right hand. Presently I was carried to a fire; care was taken of my feet, and I was put to bed; but was unable to stand for several days.

All the ceremony used by one who turns Mahometan by compulsion, is only holding up the fore-finger of his right hand, and pronouncing the above words: but when any person voluntarily turns from his religion to the Mahometan, a great deal of formality is used. In this case he goes to the court, where the dey and divan sits, and declaring his conversion, he is mounted on a fine horse, adorned with rich trappings, and is very handsomely dressed with a turban on his head; but nothing of this is to be called his own; except two or three yards of broad-cloth, which is laid before him on the saddle. Thus he rides all round the city, carrying an arrow erect in his right hand, with his fore-finger held up against it. He is attended with drums, and other music, with twenty or thirty persons, who march in order on each side of the horse, with naked swords in their hands. There is also a person on each side the street, as he marches through, to receive what people are pleased to give him; and one here and there drops perhaps the value of a farthing or a halfpenny. Meanwhile the crier goes before, giving thanks to God for the proselyte that is made. A few days after the circumciser comes

comes, and performs his office ; and then he is a Mahometan to all intents and purposes.

About two or three months after I was made a slave, I had found means to send a letter to my father, giving him an account of what had happened ; to which I received a kind and affectionate answer, a few days after I had been thus induced, by my patroon's barbarity, to turn from my religion : but in this answer he tenderly exhorted me to let no methods of cruelty prevail on me to deny my blessed Saviour ; and observed, that he had rather hear of my death, than of my being a Mahometan.

This letter threw me into the greatest dejection of mind, and a few days after I wrote a second letter to my father, in which I let him know that I was forced, by the cruelty of my master, to turn Mahometan ; but that I was a Christian in my heart, and that as soon as ever I could find an opportunity, I would endeavour to make my escape. After this several other letters past between us.

Notwithstanding what I had done, I still lived a miserable life with my patroon, and was often so beaten by him, that my blood ran upon the ground ; for a Christian slave does not, by turning Mahometan, become free. Besides, he now hated me, from his suspecting my sincerity, and on that account I fared in many respects worse than my fellow slaves. I lay with them in the stable, and also ate with them. Our provisions were very coarse, and mostly barley bread with four milk : but if a sheep happened to die, the flesh came to our share.

Though the Mahometans of this country have all the outward appearance of religion, yet almost all kinds of wickedness, except murder and theft

are left unpunished. They are generally very strict in praying five times a day; and in their numerous ablutions, in which they are extremely exact. I shall more particularly describe the worship of the mosques, which Christians are not allowed to enter. Even the female sex of their own religion are excluded from having any share in the public worship.

The clerk having called from the steeple of the mosque, the people immediately hast thither. The insides of these buildings have neither pews nor seats, but a plain floor spread over with mats, except near the imam, where carpets are spread. The galleries are likewise spread with mats. In the mosques are neither pictures nor statues; for they utterly abhor images, and the walls are all white. On coming to the door, the men put off their slippers, and walk in barefoot, and putting the soles of their slippers together, place them before them, and kneeling, rest upon their heels. The imam is not raised above the people; his back is towards them; but the mezzins, or clerks, are placed in a gallery by themselves, where they observe his motions, and begin with much the same words as they had before used in calling from the steeple: that is, "God is great. God is great. I testify that there is no God besides God. I testify that Mahomet is the messenger of God. I testify that Mahomet is the messenger of God. Haste to prayers. Haste to prayers. Haste to a good work. Haste to a good work. Now prayers are beginning. Now prayers are beginning. Now prayers are beginning. God is great. There is no God besides God." On his saying the last words, all the congregation bring their two thumbs together, and kiss them three times, and

at every kiss, they touch their forehead with their thumbs, and then rising up all on their legs, they stand exactly close to each other in even ranks.

They all imitate the imam in the front, who is no sooner on his feet than he brings his two thumbs to touch the lower part of his ears, at which the mezzin, or clerk, above, cries out, "God is great," at the hearing of which they all touch their ears, repeating the same to themselves. The imam then says a short lesson out of the Koran, which being ended, he bows with his hands resting on his knees, at which the mezzin again makes the same exclamation, and when the imam recovers himself and stands upright, it is again repeated.

The imam, now placing his hands on his thighs, gently sinks on his knees, then stretching forth his hands on the ground, brings his forehead to touch it, at which he repeats again, "God is great." The imam then recovers himself on his knees, with his hands on his thighs, and stretches his hands on the ground as before, the clerk repeating the same expression. All which postures and ceremonies the imam performs a second time, and the mezzin uses the same words as at first; which being done, the imam sits still on his heels about a minute, with his hands on his thighs, and fixing his eyes on the floor, says a short prayer, at the conclusion of which he looks over his right shoulder, and then over his left, saying at each, "Welcome my angels;" or, "Peace be to you;" for they hold that every one has two angels to attend him, especially at the time of their worship. It must be observed, that all in the same congregation use the same gestures as the imam, and all at the same instant; the mezzin speaking

loud.

loud, is a sufficient signal when to bow or rise; and they all stand with their faces towards Mecca.

At the conclusion of their worship, the imam, who officiates at the upper end of the mosque, kneeling in an oval place in the wall, and turning his face towards the congregation, who are all upon their knees imitating him, takes out his beads, which are ninety-nine in number, and have a partition between every thirty-three; these they turn over, and for each of the first thirty-three they say, "Admire God;" for the second thirty-three they cry, "Thanks be to God;" and for the third thirty-three, "God is great." Which being ended, the imam, with the whole assembly, hold up their hands at a little distance from their faces, putting up their silent orisons; and to conclude all, smooth down their faces with their hands, take up their slippers, and go their way.

In this manner they perform their public worship, which lasts about a quarter of an hour; and is repeated with some variations five times a day; and on Friday, which is their Sabbath, the imam, with a staff in his hand, mounts six or seven steps, and makes a kind of short sermon, about a quarter of an hour long.

My patroon, with whom I lived very unhappily, and whose cruelty, added to the uneasiness of my mind, rendered life a burden; at length, engaged in a rebellion against the dey, with the hopes of obtaining that office; but this at last cost him his life; for being taken prisoner, he was beheaded.

I was now in hopes that my patroona, or mistress, would have given me my freedom; but this she refused, and sold me in Algiers, where I was sold three days by the crier about the streets, and was bought on the third by an old bachelor, who

employed me to dress his meat, to wash his clothes, and do all the usual work of a maid servant in England. I now wanted for neither meat, drink, clothes, nor money. After I had lived with him about a year, he resolved to make his pilgrimage to Mecca, and to take me with him.

We went by sea to Alexandria in Egypt ; but in our passage, being taken sick, and thinking he should die, he took off a girdle, which he wore under his sash, in which was much gold, and also my letter of freedom, which he intended to give me when at Mecca, and bidding me put it on, he took my girdle, and put it on himself; which was a convincing proof of his regard for me; but it pleased God that he recovered.

We stayed at Alexandria about twenty days, and then steered to Rosetta, where we entered the Nile, and sailed up the river to Grand Cairo, where we furnished ourselves with three or four months provisions, which were to serve us till our return to Egypt ; and hired camels to carry us to Suez, a small town situated at the end of the Red Sea. We there embarked again, and after about a month's sail, came to a place called Rabbock, about four days sail from Mecca, where all the pilgrims, except those of the female sex, strip off all their clothes, and covering their bodies with only two wrappers, with their heads bare, and sandals on their feet, go on shore, and travel by land to Mecca ; when the scorching heat of the sun sometimes burns the skin off their backs and arms, and greatly swells their heads. However, when any man is in danger of losing his health by these austerities, he may lawfully put on his clothes, on condition, that when he comes to Mecca, he kills a sheep, and gives it to the poor.

But while they wear this mortifying habit, it is held unlawful for them so much as to cut their nails, or to kill a louse or a flea, though they see them sucking their blood. They are likewise to entertain no enmity against any one, but to be watchful over their tempers and passions, to observe a strict government of the tongue, and to make continual use of a form of devout expressions. These austerities last seven days.

At Giddo, the nearest sea-port town to Mecca, from which it is not quite a day's journey, we unloaded our ships, and here were met by persons, who came to instruct the pilgrims in the ceremonies to be used in their worship.

On our arrival at Mecca, the above persons, who were our guides, conducted us into the great street which is in the midst of the town, and to which the temple joins: he then directed us to the fountains, where we performed our ablutions, and then he took us to the temple, where leaving our shoes with one who attends to receive them, we entered at the door called The Gate of Peace. Having proceeded a few paces, our guide held up his hand toward the Beat-Allah, and uttered several words, which the pilgrims repeated after him: bursting into tears at the sight of the building. After which, we were led seven times round it, and then were conducted into the street, where we were sometimes to run, and sometimes to walk very quick; the pilgrims behaving with the utmost awe and trembling; performing these superstitious ceremonies with the appearance of the most extraordinary devotion. This being over, we returned and sought out for lodgings.

All the pilgrims think it their indispensable duty, to improve their time while they are at Mecca.

ca, not only in doing their accustomed duty and devotion at the temple, but to spend all their leisure time there, and, as far as their strength will permit, to continue walking round the Beat-Allah, at one corner of which is fastened a black stone, framed in silver, and every time they come to that corner, they kiss the stone, and having gone round seven times, they repeat two prayers. This stone, they say, was formerly white, but the sins of the people who kiss it, have rendered it black.

The temple of Mecca is a square building, with an area on the inside, surrounded with piazzas, much like those of the Royal Exchange in London: but the square is near ten times as large, and over the piazzas is, on each side, a range of domes, which cover little rooms or cells, the habitations of such as give themselves up to reading and a devout life; and at each corner is a minaret, or steeple, from which the criers call the people to prayers. The area on each side of the inclosure is covered with gravel, except some paths that lead to the Beat-Allah. There are forty-two doors, in the outer building, that open into the square.

The Beat-Allah, which stands in the centre, is a square, solid structure, near twenty-four paces each way, and about twenty feet high, formed of large stones, perfectly smooth and plain, without the least carved work. It is covered from top to bottom with a thick silk, and above the middle part of the covering are letters of gold, embroidered all round, the meaning of which I have forgotten; but I think they were some devout expressions. Near the lower part of the building is a large brass ring, through which passes a great cotton rope, to which the lower part of the covering

vering is fastened. The threshold of the door is as high as a man can reach, and therefore, when any person enters the Beat, a set of steps are brought for him to ascend. The door is plated all over with silver, and a covering hangs over it that reaches to the ground, which is kept turned up all the week, except on Thursday night and Friday, which is their sabbath. This covering of the door is so thick embroidered with gold, that it weighs several score pounds. The top of the building is flat, and covered with lime and sand. It has a long spout to carry off the water when it rains, at which time the people throng and struggle to get under it, that the water, which comes off the Beat, may fall upon them, which they esteem a great happiness; and if they can catch some of it to drink, their joy is excessive.

Round the Beat is a pavement of marble, about fifty feet in breadth, on the edge of which stand pillars of brass, near fifteen feet high, and twenty feet distance from each other: above the middle part of them, iron bars are fastened, reaching from one to the other, with glass lamps hanging to each, by brass wires, to give light in the night; for while the pilgrims stay at Mecca, they pay their devotions as much by night as by day.

About twelve paces from the Beat is, what they call, the Sepulchre of Abraham, who they say, by God's command, built the Beat. This sepulchre is inclosed with iron grates, and has a very handsome embroidered covering. At a small distance from it, on the left hand, is the well Zemzem, the water of which is esteemed holy. They pretend that it is as sweet as milk; but I could perceive no other taste in it but that of common water, except its being somewhat brackish. The pil-

grims, on their first coming to Mecca, drink of it unreasonably, by which means they are not only purged, but their flesh breaks out in pimples. This they call the purging of their spiritual corruptions. Many of them carry some of this water home to their respective countries, in little tin pots, and present perhaps half a spoonful of it to each of their friends, which they receive in the hollow of their hands with abundance of thanks, sipping a little of it, and bestowing the rest on their faces and naked heads.

Opposite each side of the Beat is a small structure supported on pillars, where the imam, together with the mezzins, perform their devotions and superstitious ceremonies in the sight of all the people.

The Beat-Allah is open but two days in the space of six weeks, one day for the men, and the next for the women. As I was at Mecca about four months, I had an opportunity of entering it twice, an advantage which many thousands of the hadgees have not met with. All that they have to do, is to hold up their hand, look over each shoulder, and say, "Welcome my Angels," and then offer up some petitions; but they are so devout, that they will not suffer their eyes to wander. Nay, they say, that one was struck blind for gazing about. Disregarding this idle story, I now and then cast an observing eye: but found nothing worthy of notice; only two wooden pillars to support the roof, and a bar of iron fastened to them, on which hang three or four silver lamps, which I suppose are but seldom, if ever, lighted. The floor and the walls are of marble, and the latter are usually hung with silk, which is pulled off before the hadgees enter. Those who

enter

enter the Beat, stay scarce half a quarter of an hour, because others wait for the same privilege, and while some go in, others are going out.

After all, who chuse, have done this, the sultan of Mecca, who is of the race of Mahomet, does not think himself too good to clean the Beat. He and his favourites first wash it with the holy water of Zemzem, and after that, with sweet water. The stairs, which were brought to enter in at the door, being removed, the people crowd under the door, to receive the sweepings of the water on their bodies; and the besoms, or brooms, with which the Beat is cleaned, are broken to pieces, and thrown among the mob; when he, that gets a small stick or twig of it, keeps it as a sacred relic.

Every year the covering of the Beat is renewed, and sent from Grand Cairo, by order of the grand seignior; and when the caravan goes with the pilgrims to Mecca, the new covering is carried upon two camals, which do no other work for a year. It is received with extreme joy, some kissing the camels, and bidding them welcome. The old covering being pulled down, the new one is put up by the sultan of Mecca; and cutting the old covering in pieces, he sells them at a great price to the hadgees.

At Mecca are thousands of blue pigeons, which none will affright or abuse, much less kill them, whence they are so very tame, that they will pick meat out of one's hand, and I myself have fed them. They are called the pigeons of the prophet, and come in great flocks to the temple, where they are usually fed by the hadgees. I have heard some say, that they pay such reverence to the Beat-Allah, that they will never fly

over it; but this is not true, for I have often seen them fly over it.

The pilgrims, before they receive the honourable title of hadgee, again put on their mortifying habit, and go to a hill, called Gibbeel Orphat, or, the Mountain of Knowledge, where there are said to meet no less than seventy thousand persons every year, two months and nine days after the fast of Ramadan; and it is pretended, that if there are fewer than that number, God will supply the deficiency by so many angels. Indeed the number of the hadgees at this mountain is very great, though I cannot think it amounts to so many. It was, however, a melancholy sight to behold so many thousands in their garments of humility and mortification, with their naked heads, and their cheeks wet with tears; with sighs and sobs, earnestly begging, in a form of penitential expressions, the remission of their sins; and promising newness of life, and thus continuing for the space of four or five hours. After this, they all at once receive the title of hadgee from the imam, which they from hence enjoy till their death.

Immediately upon their receiving this name the trumpet is sounded, and they all leave the hill to return towards Mecca. Having proceeded two or three miles, they rest for that night; but after their devotions, each person gathers forty nine small stones, about the size of a hazel nut.

The next morning, they move to a place called Mina, or Muna, where, they say, Abraham went to offer up his son, and there they all pitch their tents, and then every hadgee throws seven of the stones he has gathered at a small pillar, crying "Stone the devil, and them that please him."

Then

There are two others of the like pillars situated near each other, and at each of the three, they, the second day, throw seven stones, and the same number the day after. It is observable, that after they have thrown the seven stones on the first day, the country people having brought great flocks of sheep to be sold, each person buys one, and sacrifices it: some of the flesh they give to their friends and the poor, then pull off their penitential habits, and spend the three days in festivity and rejoicing; but during this time there are few who are able, who do not run, once at least, to have a fresh fight of the Beat-Allah, which they no sooner behold than they burst into tears of joy, and having performed their devotions, return back to Mina.

The three days being expired, they all return to Mecca, where they must not stay above ten or twelve days, during which a great fair is held, in which is sold all sorts of East India goods. Almost every one now buys a shroud of fine linen to be buried in, for the advantage of having it dipt in the holy water; and this they are sure to carry with them wherever they go. The evening before they quit Mecca, every one takes a solemn leave of the Beat-Allah, from which they retire backwards, holding up their hands, and offering up their petitions, with their eyes fixed on the building, till they have lost sight of it, and then they burst into tears.

Mecca is situated in a barren spot, about a day's journey from the Red Sea, and surrounded by a great number of little hills. It is without walls, and the buildings very mean. The climate is exceeding hot, whence the inhabitants, especially the men, usually sleep on the tops of the houses,

or

or in the streets before their doors. Some lay their bedding on a thin mat on the ground, and others have a slight frame, on which they put their bedding; but before they bring it out, they sweep the streets, and water them. I usually lay on the top of the house, covered only with a linen cloth dipped in water, and wrung out; when I awoke I found it dry, and therefore wetted it again, and this I did two or three times in a night.

On our leaving Mecca we proceeded on camels to Medina, where Mahomet lies entombed. This is but a mean neat town: but it is walled round, and has a large mosque, in one corner of which is a place built about fourteen or fifteen paces square; this building has spacious windows fenced with brass grates. On the inside it has some ornaments. It is covered with a dome, and has a number of lamps. In the middle of this place is the tomb of Mahomet, surrounded by silk curtains, like a bed; but none of the hadgees are permitted to enter it; for the eunuchs alone go in to light the lamps, which burn by night. It is pretended by some, that Mahomet's coffin is suspended by the attractive virtue of a loadstone, fixed to the roof; but this is false; for when I looked through the grate of the window, the curtains that covered the tomb were not half so high as the dome, so that it is impossible the coffin should hang there; nor do the Mahometans pretend that it does.

On our leaving Medina, we passed through Egypt; and having reached Alexandria, I was walking with an Irish renegado on the quay, where we saw an English boat with a man in it, whom the renegado earnestly desired me to speak to, which I was afraid of doing; however, I at last asked him some questions, which made him enquire

enquire where I learnt English. I told him, in England. He then desired to know if I was an Englishman, and from what part of England I came. I told him from Exeter, and related the manner in which I was taken; but being afraid of holding a long discourse with him, I hastily retired.

The next day, when I was again walking, I observed the same man, and another person with him, who, running up to me, hugged me in his arms, crying, "I am glad to see thee, with all my heart." At first I did not know him, till he told me who he was; when I found that, when boys, we had been play-fellows. I was very desirous of having further talk with him, and he pressed me to drink a glass of wine; but I refused. He then invited me to a coffee-house; but I told him I could not go, because it would be full of Mehometans. I however enquired after the health of my father and my friends; and he told me, that he saw my father a little before he left England. At my desire, he readily promised to carry a letter for me; and I afterwards sent by him, a Turkish pipe to my father, a silk purse to my mother, and gave him a sash for himself, telling him, that I hoped God would find out some way for my escape; but my heart bled at parting with him.

My patroon had, however, before this, the generosity to give me, according to his promise, my liberty at Mecca. I was therefore no longer a slave, yet the cruel death that would have been inflicted, had I been found to endeavour to make my escape, and the ill consequence of my giving room for suspicion, made me thus cautious.

On

On my return to Algiers, I entered into the army, and my generous master, who loved me as if I had been his son, freely gave me my board, and informed me, that he proposed to leave me something considerable at his death: but notwithstanding this pleasing prospect, and all the gratitude I felt for his kindness, the hopes of being retaken, made me leave him and go to sea; but my wishes were not granted. At length, the grand seignior sending to the Algerines for some ships, I resolved to go in one of them, flattering myself with the hopes of making my escape at Smyrna.

I had some time before, been afflicted with a humour in one of my eyes, on which I applied to an English slave, who understood physick and surgery, who lived with Mr. Butler, an English merchant, and he undertaking the cure, I went twice or thrice a day to be dressed, where, being in no fear of being seen by a Mahometan, I frequently took up a Bible, and read in it. One day, being found thus employed by Mr. Butler, he seemed to wonder at it; but all I dared to tell him was, that I had no hatred to the Bible. In a little time, growing better acquainted with him, he invited me to dinner, and, among other things, had a piece of bacon; but I had the precaution to refuse to taste it. He, however, soon found the way to remove my reserve, and I opened my whole heart to him, on which he promised to assist me all in his power to make my escape, and was so kind as to propose it to Mr. Baker, consul of Algiers, the brother of the consul of Tunis, who had generously endeavoured to redeem me from my slavery to my second patron.

Mr. Butler introduced me to that gentleman, who kindly wrote me a letter of recommendation

to Mr. Wray, consul of Smyrna; charging me, if I should be in danger of death, or a discovery, to convey it overboard, for his safety.

With this letter I set sail with the above fleet, and on our arrival at Smyrna, I presented it to the consul, who having read it, ordered the interpreter to withdraw, and as soon as he was gone, asked me if I was the person mentioned in the letter. I told him I was; when, observing that the design was very dangerous, and that if it should be known to the Turks he was any way concerned in it, it would cost him his life and fortune; he added, however, that on Mr. Baker's account, he would do me all the service in his power: but cautioned me not to come to his house, except upon some extraordinary occasion.

A day or two after this, I found out an English merchant, who had served part of his apprenticeship at Exeter; I made myself known to him; and this gentleman, whose name was Eliot, promised to assist me, and kindly told me, that I need not run the hazard of going to the consul's house; but if I had any thing of moment to communicate to him, he would do it for me; and I gladly followed this friendly advice.

In a month's time, it was cried about the city of Smyrna, that all Algerines should repair to their ships. All this time no English or Dutch ships came to Smyrna; it was therefore agreed that, to prevent suspicion, I should go to Scio with the Algerines; which I accordingly did, and staid there till the Algerines were gone; but some time after returned to Smyrna, where I kept myself very private, till a French ship was ready to sail.

On the evening before her intended departure, I went on board, dressed like an Englishman, with

with my beard shaven, a campaign peruke, and a cane in my hand, accompanied by three or four of my friends. The boat that carried us aboard was brought just to the house where I lodged; and as we were going into it, there were some Turks of Smyrna walking by, but they had happily no suspicion.

My good friend Mr. Eliot had agreed with the captain of the ship to pay four pounds for my passage to Leghorn; but neither the captain nor any of the Frenchmen knew who I was. After they had brought me safe on board, they took their leave of me, and told me, that if the ship did not sail the next morning, they would visit me again, which accordingly they did, bringing wine and provisions on board, and were very merry, though I could not help being extremely uneasy, till the ship had made sail: nor did I enjoy the least peace of mind till we reached Leghorn, where, as soon as I came ashore, in a transport of joy I prostrated myself, and kissed the earth, blessing Almighty God for his undeserved mercy, in suffering me once more to set my foot in a Christian country.

From thence I set out by land; and having travelled through Italy and Germany, I embarked at Helvoetsluys, and crossed in the English packet to Harwich. I had received many instances of civility from strangers on the road; but the very first night I lay ashore in my native country, was impressed into the king's service, we being at that time at war with France. And though I made known my condition, acquainting them how many years I had been in slavery, and begged for my liberty with tears, yet I was carried to Colchester prison, where I lay some days. While I was there, wrote two letters, one to my father, and the other

to Sir William Falkener, who was one of the Turkey, or Smyrna company in London, and on whom I had a small bill for a little money. In a few days I was put on board a smack, that was to carry the impressed men to the Dreadnought man of war; but I had not been long there, before my name was called, there being a letter for me; when, to my great surprise and joy, I found it came from Sir William Falkener, who, upon the receipt of mine, notwithstanding my being an absolute stranger to him, had the humanity to go immediately to the Admiralty-office, and get a protection for me, which the lieutenant had received. This news was so sudden and unexpected, that I could not forbear leaping with transport on the deck.

My first business, on my arrival at London, was to wait on that worthy and honourable gentleman, to pay him my thanks for such a singular favour. After which I made what haste I could to Exeter, where I at last arrived, to the great joy of my father, and my other relations and friends. My mother had departed this life about a year before; and I lost the happiness I had promised myself from our meeting, after a long absence of sixteen years.

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ADVENTURES OF
PRINCE MENZIKOFF;
FROM
CHANTREAU'S TRAVELS,
IN
R U S S I A.

THE origin of this favourite is variously reported. Some say that he was an apprentice to a pastry cook; others make him a small pye merchant, that walked the streets of Moscow. The latter is the more probable opinion; and in conformity to it, some authors say, that Peter having stopped Menzikoff in his daily vocation in the streets, was so struck with his vivacity, and smart repartees, that he took him into his service, and speedily raised him to the summit of honour.

It is, however, maintained by several, that Menzikoff was the son of a servant about court, and that accident placed him near the person of the emperor. But whatever may be pretended of his origin, it is certain that he owed his elevation to Baron Lefort. This foreigner, who had to combat the hatred of the Russian lords, who could not forgive him for enjoying the prince's favour to their exclusion, and also charged him with the innovations he suggested; this very

Lefort was well pleased to have a man near the czar, at his devotion, who, giving no offence to his enemies, could serve him as a spy, as often as his own engagements removed him from the emperor. Young Menzikoff was so much the fitter for this character, as he possessed an inexhaustible fund of humour, and was admitted into the highest families of Moscow, like a sort of buffoon, amusing companies with burlesque songs, which the courtiers were weak enough to repeat in the very antichambers of the palace. Peter also was entertained with the humour of young Alexaschka *, repeated his songs, and was accustomed to see him, because Lefort was continually pointing him out. At length he took him into his service, admitted him into his most intimate confidence, which he shared with Lefort, till the death of this officer, and possessed alone during the life of the prince.

The first date of Menzikoff's fortune, was the raising of a company of fifty young Russians, which, after Lefort's plan, Peter clothed, armed, and disciplined after the German manner, and which afterwards became the regiment of guards, called Preobaschenkoi. Lefort, who was colonel of this company, caused Menzikoff to be admitted into it, and soon after his admission, made him go through his exercise, under the prince's windows, who was charmed with him, and from that moment swore he would attach him to himself. It must be remarked, that the prince, who formed this resolution, was only fifteen years of age, and expressed no wishes, but

* Menzikoff was called Alexis, of which the diminutive is Alexaschka.

those inspired by Lefort, who, for the happiness of the Russians, was a man endowed with the rarest qualities, and worthy of modelling the prince, after whom so many others ought to copy. What tended most to confirm Peter's attachment to Menzikoff, was the conformity of age, and the passive devotion of the latter for his master; for Menzikoff then and ever after, distinguished himself always by the zeal with which he proceeded to whatever could please the czar. In his plans of reform especially, he afforded him the greatest assistance, either by taking the execution upon himself, or removing such obstacles as might thwart them, which the Boyards, attached to their old prejudices, found means to raise up; or by kindly receiving and caressing, especially under the eyes of his master, the foreigners whom this prince had drawn to his court, and Menzikoff had the address to fix there.

From the moment that he had been placed by Peter, Menzikoff, by the advice of Lefort, had applied himself to study his master's character, to bend himself to it without reserve, and to bear, without a murmur, not only the disagreeable sallies of Peter's violent and impetuous temper, but even patiently endure the worst of treatment. His obedience, therefore, was always that of a devoted slave, who joins the most rigid punctuality to the most literal execution of the orders he receives. Even the office of hangman he did not decline, when Peter ordered him to discharge it, at the time of the rebellion of Strelitz, in the year 1688. In Peter's presence, Menzikoff cut off the heads of twenty of the principal conspirators, and reckoned it an honourable office. Peter quoted him, as an example worthy of imitation,

to the Boyards, who refused to assist at these executions.

Menzikoff, by his ability as a statesman and warrior also, won the confidence and esteem of Peter. During the campaign of 1695, he was always at his side, and assisted the prince greatly in the conquest of Azoff. In the year 1697, he saved his life. Some Russian lords and fanatic priests had formed a conspiracy against the czar. Menzikoff in disguise had introduced himself among the conspirators. He finds means of withdrawing himself without being noticed, goes and calls on Peter, who is at Lefort's amusing himself, informs him of the risk he runs, and of the place where the conspirators are assembled. Peter goes thither in force, and surprises them, causes them to be executed, and returns to his amusement.

Menzikoff accompanied Peter on these travels, on which so many truths and falsehoods have been written, and was made a prince of the holy empire in the year 1706: from that time he rose rapidly to the first dignities of the civil and military orders. On some occasions he was even permitted to represent his sovereign, by giving public audiences to ambassadors; whilst Peter, disdainng the pageantry of royalty, appeared in his train like a plain individual. In short, the ascendancy, which this favourite had acquired over the emperor, which Catharine supported, with all her influence, was carried so far, that it was believed among the weak, credulous Russians, that Menzikoff had thrown a spell over the mind of his master.

It is a fact, that this favourite incurred the czar's resentment twenty times, and as often calmed

calmed it with a single word. He seemed to hold in his hands the springs, which moved this fiery, but elevated soul. One day the czar threatened to ruin him. "Very well, Peter, what will you do?" said the minister to him, "you will destroy your own work;" and this expression appeased the czar. Yet when Peter returned from his campaign in Persia, Menzikoff, who was not ignorant of the just grounds of complaints that had been made against him, fell from an excess of boldness and security, into despondency and despair, and, for this once, he thought himself undone. He did not shew himself before the emperor at the time of his arrival at St. Petersburg. He continued in his palace on the banks of the Neva, pretending bad health; and either to support his excuses, or because fear and uneasiness had really made him sick, he was in bed, when the czar's visit was announced to him, and this redoubled his fears. The prince had crossed the Neva, had come without any attendants, and without giving Menzikoff any notice of his coming. He sat down on the bolster of his bed. Menzikoff did not dissemble that his real distress was the mortal anguish, into which the master's resentment, which he had deserved, was throwing him. He did not attempt to excuse himself, he confessed himself criminal, and appeared only to wait for the severest chastisement. This confession affected Peter, who besides had undoubtedly taken his resolution, when he determined to visit him, whom he might have punished. Alexaschka, said he to him, in a friendly tone, take courage, you have committed a great fault, you have almost ruined my country; but I cannot forget that
you

you have saved it, and that I am indebted to you for my life and my empire.

Notwithstanding all this, after the affair of Stettin, Menzikoff thought he was on the point of receiving the chastisement, which his conduct on that occasion had justly merited; but the danger he had then brought himself into, was a ground of humiliation for his enemies. The following is a fact. In the year 1713, he was besieging Stettin, the capital of Pomerania, and was on the eve of taking it, when, seduced by the intrigues of Baron Goerts, particularly by four hundred thousand livres*, which he received, he consented to deliver up this place to the king of Prussia, Frederick William I. upon some vain promises, that were never realized. Stettin, since that time, has remained in the possession of Prussia, and the country which it commands, is the most beautiful part of Pomerania. Peter was irritated, and Menzikoff, who was not ignorant of this, but knew the character of his master, formed a very singular plan of defence, and when he came home, observed a line of conduct still more extraordinary. He retired to his palace, and went not to court. The czar made him be asked, why he came not thither; he answered proudly, that it was not the practice for persons, who returned home to make the first visit. Peter, more provoked than ever, collected some Russian lords, known to be enemies to Menzikoff, bid them follow him, telling them that they were now to see, if he knew how to humble a guilty and insolent subject. He goes to Menzikoff's house, loads him with reproaches, behaving with all the violence

* Nearly seventeen thousand pounds.

of which he was master, being almost ready to beat him. Menzikoff entreats him to be kind enough to hear him in private, and with great difficulty obtains a hearing. He passes into a small room, and then assumes a firmer tone. "You have glory," says he, "and I thought I was serving you. Charles, your rival, has given kingdoms; I wanted you to do greater things than Charles, and one of your subjects, to give away provinces; an honour, which never happened to any prince but you. Is not this much more valuable than a possession so distant from your dominions, which you would not have been able to keep?" Peter, naturally struck with whatever was great, yet this was only romantic, was very much astonished at this answer, and after the first impression, Menzikoff had no difficulty in persuading him of whatever he chose. The czar went out, holding him by the hand, in sight of all those, who were expecting a very different spectacle. Menzikoff, triumphant, accompanied his master to the barge, which was waiting for him on the Neva. Peter went on board alone. Then Menzikoff gave orders, that all those who had come to be witnesses of his humiliation, should attend him back to his lodging; an honour they owed to the man, who was the first in the empire next to the czar. None durst refuse, because they were afraid of his power, and still more of his vengeance, which was terrible. It was that of a courtier, who durst attempt any thing whatever.

At the death of Peter I. Menzikoff's power became still more unlimited. Catharine I. who owed her elevation to the throne, to the intrigues and activity of this minister, out of gratitude, gave up to him the reins of her empire, and

was

was only ostensible sovereign, while it was Menzikoff alone who reigned in reality, and at pleasure. His authority, therefore, continued good till the death of Catharine, who, with a view to confirm it more, gave orders in her will, that Peter II. her successor, should marry Menzikoff's daughter. Is not this clause a complete proof of the favourite's ascendant over his mistress, and also of her gratitude?

But heaven ordered things quite otherwise. The intrigues, despotism, arrogance, and disrespectful conduct of Menzikoff towards Peter II. changed the face of affairs, and hurled this favourite from the summit of greatness into the most abject humiliation. The circumstances of his disgrace are related in Manstein's Memoirs, a work of some character, to which its accuracy and impartiality will entitle it. Yet we think we will do an office acceptable to our readers, if we lay before them a particular account of the different causes which operated the downfall of this celebrated man, and of the engines, which his enemies put into motion, in order to accomplish it.

Prince Dolgorouki and Count Ostermann were the implacable enemies of Menzikoff. Both of them employed all the manœuvres of intrigue for the purpose of ruining him; and their success was the greater, as Menzikoff did not at all suspect them. Dolgorouki, in particular, to much cunning joined a degree of dissimulation, of which Menzikoff did not think him capable; and Count Ostermann, from the time that he quarrelled with this minister in council, affected to wish to live retired from public affairs. Menzikoff had taken young Peter to Petershoff, to give him a few days amusement in hunting, or rather to keep

him

him entirely in his power. Count Ostermann being informed of this excursion, considered it the most favourable conjuncture he could wish, for the execution of the plot he had laid for overthrowing Menzikoff. He waited on all the senators and principal officers of the guards, disclosed to them his intentions, and found them animated with sentiments exactly correspondent with his own. Every one of them said, he was ready to sacrifice his fortune and life to rid his country of such an odious tyrant as Menzikoff. He then prescribed the rule of conduct they were to observe. He had taken care to advise Prince Dolgorouki of his measures and success. He had given him to understand, that if he and his son were successful in preventing the marriage, which the emperor was in the way of being forced to conclude, the least recompence Dolgorouki might expect, was to see his own daughter occupy the place of Menzikoff's. Ostermann added, "that he knew it was the object of his ambition, and it only depended on himself, to see it successful with so much ease, as it was the wish of the nation, and as his illustrious birth rendered his pretensions as legitimate as reasonable." The Dolgorouki are one of the first families of the empire, and are sprung from that Wolodimer, who invited the followers of Christ into his country.

Whether Count Ostermann spoke sincerely or not to Prince Dolgorouki, his words had the effect he wished and expected. The latter, flattered with the hopes of seeing his daughter raised to the throne of Russia, promised to do every thing required of him. The sole difficulty now consisted in engaging the czar to escape from the vigilance of Menzikoff, who did not allow him to remain

main a moment out of his sight. Young Dolgorouki was fixed on to make this proposal to Peter. He was the czar's only companion in his amusements, the only confident of his sorrows, and slept every night in the same room with him. This intimacy gave him an opportunity of knowing the young monarch's disposition towards Menzikoff. Young Dolgorouki promised to deliver the prince into the hands of the senate, and in the execution of this plan, displayed the prudence, which is generally the fruit only of age, matured by experience. He concerted measures with Ostermann, who on his part acted with so much address, that the senate was to be assembled, as it were by accident, at some distance from Petershoff.

When the night, appointed for putting the plot into execution, was come, young Dolgorouki, seeing that all was quiet, came to the emperor's bedside, and proposed to him to deliver himself, by a speedy flight, from the slavery in which Menzikoff kept him. Peter, who was undoubtedly already prepared to take this step, dressed himself in haste, went out of the window along with his favourite, and they together crossed the garden by favour of the darkness. So soon as they got on the outside of the wall, they were received by a great number of noblemen, who were waiting for them, and by whom they were conducted to the place where the senate was assembled. Without stopping to deliberate, they set out straight for St. Petersburg, in order to be at the greater distance from Menzikoff.

Next day, when the servants entered into the chamber of the prince, and saw he had made his escape, they ran to inform the minister, who was

yet buried in sleep. By this piece of news, he learned the danger which threatened him, and continued some time, as it were, overpowered with the blow he had received. His hopes, however, soon revived, because he thought he still had some friends. How courtiers impose on themselves! He rose, and set out immediately for St. Petersburg. Imagining the power was yet in his hands, he was meditating the most cruel vengeance against those who had carried off the monarch; but measures were too well taken, and his ruin too sure. When he wished to go to the palace, he saw the guard was changed, and the garrison was under arms. He continued to advance, but was repulsed with menaces. Then assured of his destruction, he turned towards his own palace, but no more found on his way that crowd of courtiers, who had been accustomed to surround him. The storm had already dispersed them, as it disperses timid doves; and scarcely had he entered his hotel, when he saw himself surrounded with grenadiers. The officer who commanded them, advanced, and ordered him to be arrested in the name of the emperor. He imagined, what is customary with all discarded favourites, that if he saw his sovereign, he might again get into favour, and recover his authority; but the answer he received, was an order to depart for Renneburg. This was a considerable estate that belonged to himself. This order deprived him of all hopes, and shewed the certainty of his ruin. He, in the midst of his grief, exclaimed: "I have committed great crimes, but is the emperor's part to punish me for them?" These words were remarked by all who were present, and confirmed the suspicions he was under

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respecting the death of Catharine I. Some respect was shewn to him that day. The officer, who was appointed to guard him, told him that the emperor gave him permission to carry with him his most valuable effects, and to be attended by as great a number of servants as he chose. He was imprudent enough to wish to display before the public eye, a pomp, which was unbecoming his present, and would have been unsupportable in every other situation. He spent the rest of the day in making preparations for his journey. He was carried off next day at noon, in order to gratify the people with the sight of his humiliation. Some even say, that he himself wished to set out at this hour; because he thought the sympathy of the spectators would reach the monarch. His outset resembled a pompous procession, rather than the departure of a man disgraced. He and his family were in one of the most splendid carriages. His other carriages, of which the number was considerable, followed him. His baggage, servants, and horses formed a numerous train. He affected to salute all, who were in the windows, on the right and left hand. If, in the crowd of people, that flocked about him, he noticed any person whom he had occasion to know, he named him, and bade him farewell.

This pompousness, which Menzikoff had affected even in his disgrace, gave too great advantage to his enemies, for them not to profit by it. To the view of the young monarch, they represented him as an ambitious man, whom nothing could humble; who, when prostrate on the ground, defied the arm that had but overthrown him. They provoked the resentment of a young man, and it will be easily believed, they had little difficulty

difficulty in raising it. Besides Peter hated Menzikoff too bitterly, not to listen to and follow the counsels, which tended to ruin him. He dispatched a second detachment of grenadiers after him, and ordered the commanding officer to strip him of the badges of the orders of Russia, and even of those which he had received from foreign powers. At this act of degradation, Menzikoff became a new man. His ambition and vanity left him. He appeared to be stript of these as if he had been relieved from cords, with which he had been bound; and becoming all at once as humble as firm, he appeared only a philosopher, ready to brave the vicissitudes of fortune. He answered the officer; "take back these tokens of my foolish vanity. I have them all collected in this coffer," expecting well that the first act of my humiliation would be to strip me of them. I should have had them on me, that this act might have been the more humiliating. The orders, which the officer had received, did not rest there. He told him, he must alight from his coach, with his wife and children, and ride in waggons, which he had brought for the purpose. "I am prepared for every thing," Menzikoff again replied; "execute the orders that have been given you. The more you take from me, the fewer causes of uneasiness you will leave me. I only pity those who are to profit by those spoils." He alighted from his coach, and mounted into a little wagon, with a tranquillity, which equally astonished and affected all present. His wife and children mounted into other waggons. His equipage and servants were taken back to St. Petersburg, and Menzikoff continued his route, without having the consolation of conversing with his wife and

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children. When accident gave him an opportunity of seeing them, he exhorted them to yield to the storm without desponding. The resignation inspired by philosophy and sound religious morality, which differ very little from one another, is of the greatest service in disgraces, and furnished him with sentiments calculated to confirm the courage of these unfortunate companions of his sufferings.

In this way did Menzikoff arrive at Renneburg, which was rather a city than a village. The castle was magnificent. He had built fortifications, which rendered it capable of defence, and he had established a market or fair, which was held every year in the month of June. Whether the Tartars, the Cossacs, &c. brought commodities of all kinds. Menzikoff, in his dignity, feasted himself with the pleasure of leading there a philosophical life. Although removed from court the distance of a thousand wersts, he still appeared to his enemies to be too near. They apprehended every thing from his intrigues, and the creatures he had made. Their jealousy rose so high, that they advised the czar to banish him to Yakoufka, which is in the extremity of Siberia, and more than six hundred wersts from the capital. He was allowed to take with him only eight servants. Before his departure, he was stripped of his clothes, and equipped in such a dress as the Russian peasants wear. His wife and his children were not treated with more delicacy. They were obliged to assume the same dress. Their gowns were of coarse stuff, covered with a pelisse. For a head-dress, they had caps of sheep-skin. Princess Menzikoff, born with a delicate constitution, and accustomed to all the conveniences

inconveniences and advantages of opulence, soon sunk under trouble and fatigue. She died on the road, in the neighbourhood of Kasan. Her husband had the courage and resolution to exhort her to meet death, and she expired in his arms. This separation plunged him into the bitterest sorrow. In a beloved wife, for whom he had always possessed a friendship mixed with esteem, he lost his sweetest consolation. Natalia Arsejeff (this was her name) was descended from an illustrious family in Russia. Her beauty attracted the eyes of all, and her virtue, which had preserved itself un sullied by the corruption of courts, and from the pride, which the splendor of her fortune might inspire, procured her the esteem of all who knew her. Her memory is revered by the Russians. Her sister, Barbara Arsejeff, who was as arrogant as Natalia was modest, contributed not a little to the disgrace of her brother-in-law, by offending some of the best families of St. Petersburg, by her haughtiness and insolence. Far from reproving her, the imprudent Menzikoff applauded her pride. He even answered Catherine I. who sometimes complained of her, that his sister-in-law was a model of greatness of soul. How grossly was he mistaken? Let us return to his unfortunate wife.

Menzikoff himself was obliged to perform the last offices to her. With his own hands he dug the grave in which he laid her. It was in the very place where she died. Scarcely did they give him time to shed tears over the grave of his unfortunate wife; they forced him to continue his route to Tobolsk, the capital of Siberia. The news of his approach had arrived before him, and the people there were waiting with impatience

for the sight of a man in chains and degradation, under whose nod all Russia trembled but a short time before. On his arrival at this city, he was struck with the appearance of two Russian lords, who had been banished there during his administration. They had come out to meet him, and loaded him with abuse, while he was crossing the city, on his way to the prison. Far from expressing any resentment, he said to one of them, "Your reproaches are just; I have deserved them. Gratify yourselves, since you can get no other revenge on me in the state in which I am. I sacrificed you to my policy, only because your virtue and character were offensive to me." Turning to the other, he said to him; "I was altogether ignorant of your being in these places. Do not impute to me your misfortune. Doubtless you have had some enemies about me, who have taken me unawares, and obtained the order for your banishment. I have often asked why I did not see you, I received evasive answers, and I was too much occupied with public business to think on the affairs of individuals. However, if you think that names will in any degree alleviate your suffering, you may load me with them."

A third exile burst through the crowd, and by a refinement of vengeance, covered the faces of Menzikoff and his daughters with mud.—"Ah! It is at me," cried the father, overcome with sorrow, "it is at me you ought to throw it, not at these unfortunate creatures, who have done you no harm."

The governor, by Peter's orders, sent to him in his prison, five hundred roubles, to answer the demands of himself and his family. The unfortunate Menzikoff obtained leave to expend the

in the purchase of whatever might be most necessary for him in the place of banishment, to enable him to support the frightful misery which was awaiting him. This precaution was taken for the comfort of his children alone. For his own part, he was entirely resigned to the will of the Supreme Being, who supports, in his disgrace, the man, who is capable of forgetting it, so far as it respects his fortune; but he could not, without shuddering, look at the deplorable fate of the unhappy victims of his faults. He bought saws, hatchets, and implements for cultivating the ground. He provided grain of all kinds, and salt meats, for the subsistence of his family, till the habitation he was going to possess should be brought into a situation fit for supplying their wants. He also furnished himself with nets for fishing; and when all these purchases were made, he begged that the remainder of the money might be distributed among the poor people of that quarter.

The space allowed him for staying at Tobolsk being expired, he was ordered to set out with his unfortunate family. They were put into a waggon without a cover, which was drawn only by one horse, sometimes by dogs. They were six months on their way from Tobolsk to Yakoufska, and during this long and painful journey, they were exposed to all the inclemencies of the external air, which is extremely cold in these climates; yet the health of none of them received any injury.

Some days before he arrived Yakoufska, he met with an occurrence which produced in him the highest emotion, and recalled the bitter remembrance of his disgrace. He and his family had alighted at the cottage of a Siberian peasant, to take

take some repose, when he observed an officer of his acquaintance come in. He was returning from Kamtschatka, where he had been sent under the reign of Peter I. with a commission relative to the discoveries, which Captain Behring had been sent to make on the sea of Amur. This officer had served under Menzikoff, who recollected him at once, and saluted him by his name. The officer, surprised to hear himself named in a country so distant, asked how he knew him, and who he was himself. "I am Alexander;" replied he, "I was very lately Prince Menzikoff." The officer had left him at the court of Russia, in such an elevated and brilliant situation, that it appeared to him beyond all probability that it really was Menzikoff, whom he met in such a state of abjection. It seemed more natural to think, that it was some peasant deprived of his reason. To undeceive him, Menzikoff took him to a kind of window, which let in a little light into the cottage. The officer considered him for some time, with an attention mixed with astonishment; and at last, thinking he recollected him, exclaimed quite confounded; "Ah! my dear prince, by what series of misfortunes has your highness fallen into the deplorable state, in which I see you?" "Let us supercede titles," interrupted Menzikoff; "I have already told you my name is Alexander." The officer, quite uncertain still, observing in the corner a young man tying the sole of his boots with cords, said to him, in a low tone, and pointing to Menzikoff, "who is that extraordinary man?" "It is Alexander, my father," replied the young man aloud; "should you, who are under so many obligations to us, not know us in our misfortune?" Menzikoff, un-

easy

easy to hear his son answer with so much pride, ordered him to be silent. "Excuse," said he, the rudeness of this young man's humour; it is he, whom, in his infancy, you deigned to caress and dandle in your arms; these are his sisters; these are my daughters." While uttering these words, he shewed the officer two young women, dressed like country girls, sitting at a table, and baking some crusts of black, coarse bread with milk in a wooden bowl. "This one," added he, had the honour of being betrothed to Peter II. our emperor."

This conversation and scene, you may well believe, produced great astonishment in the officer, who heard and saw them; but the name of Peter II. excited in him great surprise. Having been separated from Russia by an immense distance for four years, he was in the most absolute ignorance of all the events which had changed the face of the empire. Menzikoff related them all, beginning with the death of Peter I. and ending with his own banishment. He announced to him, that he would find Dolgorouki and Ostermann at the head of the government. "You may tell them," added he, "in what a state you met me. Their hatred will be flattered with it. But assure them, that my soul is more free and calm than theirs, and than it ever was in the time of my prosperity." Perhaps he said nothing which was not very true, at least his external appearance did not contradict his sentiments. The officer could not see nor hear him without being much affected. With his tears he watered the hands of his old general, who was not a little moved with them, but shed none. He saw Menzikoff again mount on his dull waggon, in the most deliberate,

liberate manner, and for a long time followed him with his eyes, uncertain whether he should pity or admire him most.

When arrived at the place of his exile, Menzikoff occupied himself with the cares of providing for the wants of his children, and taking the precautions necessary to diminish the horror of their banishment. He began with clearing a pretty large space of ground, assisted by eight servants, who had accompanied him. He sowed some seeds, which gradually furnished his family with pulse, thought on enlarging the cottage destined for him, and felled trees for building. His example encouraged his domestics, and in a short time he had constructed a house, large enough to lodge his children and attendants. This house consisted of an oratory and four rooms, of which he took the first to himself and his son, the second was occupied by his daughters, the third was allotted for his servants, and the fourth was kept as a store room. His daughter, who had been betrothed to Peter II. who was to have been czarina, and reign over all Russia, undertook the charge of the kitchen; and the other daughter that of mending the clothes and washing the linen. Each of them were assisted by two servants, who did the hardest part of the work. Soon after his arrival, there were brought to him a bull, four cows big with calf, a ram, and some ewes, together with a great number of fowls, to form a poultry yard. Menzikoff could not imagine to whom he was indebted for this favour, for, during his prosperity, he had not the pride to make him a friend who could relieve him in his distress. His children enquired, when they returned to St. Petersburg, but in vain.

They learned only that this present had come across the deserts from Tobolsk.

Every morning, the family repaired to the oratory, where Menzikoff said prayers. He renewed them at noon, evening, and midnight. Misfortunes had made him devout, and his example more than his orders, attracted every body to this pious exercise. The sweets of solitude had driven passions from his mind, and established tranquillity there; but it was sometimes disordered by remorse, and the sorrow of seeing his children involved in misfortunes, of which he was the cause. Scarcely six months had elapsed since he came to this desert, when his eldest daughter was attacked with the small pox. He acted to her as nurse and physician. He had recourse to all the remedies he thought would prove salutary; but these, as well as all his cares, were unavailing. His daughter every day was drawing nearer and nearer to her end. He then quitted the office of physician, to assume that of priest, and encouraged her to meet death with fortitude. She submitted to it with that firmness which sufferings and religion impart, and expired in the arms of her father. As soon as she was dead, he fixed his countenance steadfastly on her's, and watered it with his tears; then shewing himself superior to grief, he said to his two remaining children; "Learn of your sister how to die." Afterwards, in the middle of his servants, he chanted the prayers, which the Greek ritual has appointed for the dead, repeated them several times during the twenty-four hours, caused her to be buried in the oratory, which he had built, and marked to his children the place where he himself wished to be interred. It was at her side. His son and his surviving

surviving daughter were seized with the same disease, and at the same time. He was multiplied, so to speak, gave them the same assistance he had given her whom he had so recently lost, but with more success, and they both soon recovered their health. At last, sorrows, still more than fatigue, gradually undermined the health of Menzikoff. They were the more poignant, that he confined them all within himself, and shewed nothing but firmness before his children, to prevent them from discovering all the horror of their situation. He sunk under his sufferings, was seized with a slow fever, which became the more dangerous, as he braved it for some time without view to conceal from his son and daughter the state in which he was. His strength was exhausted, and he was obliged to keep in bed. Seeing himself near the moment in which he was to be for ever separated from his children, he called them to his bedside, and addressed them in these words. It was his daughter who repeated them, and adding that she has often had occasion to recal them to remembrance. "My dear children, I am bordering on my last hour. Death of which the thought has been familiar to me since ever I have dwelt here, would have nothing terrible in it to me, if I had to give an account to the Sovereign Judge, only of the time which I have spent in this place of banishment. Hitherto, my sweet children, your hearts have been preserved from corruption; you will preserve your state of innocence better in these deserts than at court. If you return thither, only recollect to mind the examples I have given you here."

The firm tone, the calm manner, with which he delivered these words, made them think he

yet far from his end. But to bid them his last adieu, he had summoned up all his strength, which forsook him, as soon as he had done speaking. He stretched out his hand to give his blessing to his children, and a slight convulsion carried him off.

This unfortunate family perished not in this horrible desert, which the recent loss they had sustained, must have rendered still more horrible. At the time of Anne's accession to the throne, they were recalled to St. Petersburg. The daughter was married to Gustavus Biren, brother to the Duke of Courland, and never forgot her residence at Yakouska. The son was promoted in the army by the same empress, and shewed himself worthy of her favour. Menzikoff's grandson is at present a member of the directing senate, a lieutenant general, a knight of the order of St. George, and aid-de-camp to Catharine II. We are assured that his behaviour is such, as will never compel him to end his days at Yakouska.

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ADVENTURES
AND MELANCHOLY FATE OF
IWAN III.

FROM
CHANTREAU'S TRAVELS,
IN
R U S S I A.

MENZIKOFF, whose adventures have just been related, in a great measure deserved the fate he met with. We now produce some details from the same work, respecting a prince who was eminently calamitous, who seems born to be unhappy without any fault of his own, and from whose fortune injured humanity would wish to avert the eyes of posterity.

Iwan III. by the mother side, was descended from Iwan Alexiowitch, brother of Peter I. He was born August 4, 1740. His parents were Anthony Ulric, prince of Brunswick, and Anne Mecklenburg, daughter to Catharine Alexiowna.

He was created Grand Duke of Russia by his aunt, the Empress Anne, whom he lost almost as soon as he was born, and succeeded on the 28th October the same year, though only two months

months old, to the imperial throne. This splendid situation, of which he could not be conscious, he did not fill longer than the 6th of December 1741, when he was deposed by the Empress Elizabeth. The revolution which led to this catastrophe could neither be forwarded nor retarded by the infant Iwan, and we pass it over in silence. His future life, indeed, was wholly tinged by it; but happy was it for him, that the loss he sustained fell at an age when it could not be felt; though subsequent reflection was sufficient to embitter his hours.

When Elizabeth had secured the throne of the guiltless minor, she sent to secure him. The soldiers employed on this mission had orders to enter the apartments without the least noise, and not to awake him, if he was asleep.

Having found him sleeping by the side of his nurse, they surrounded his cradle in respectful silence, till he opened his eyes. They then began to dispute who should have the honour of carrying him off. The infant emperor was frightened and began to cry. The soldiers felt compassion for his fate, and allowed his nurse to approach him, who covered him with her cloak and carried him to Elizabeth's palace.

The deceitful empress took the child in her arms, and kissed him, and while he was fondled by his mortal enemy, some soldiers, who were in the anti-chambers, making the air resound with the cry of, long live Elizabeth, the infant, pleased with the acclamations, stretched out his little hands, and seemed with smiles to imitate the soldiers.

Elizabeth, affected with this innocent gesture, could not forbear pressing him to her breast. "Unfortunate creature," she cried, "alas! you

perce

perceive not that these shouts hurl you from the throne."

It is no easy matter to follow Iwan through all the vicissitudes of his fortune, till he was transferred to Schlussenburg. An unbroken series of ills ran through his whole fate, and coloured his whole life. Many circumstances remain in obscurity, and can never be developed.

It is known, however, that Iwan and his parents were first conducted to the fortress of Riga, where they continued immured for eighteen months. Hence they were removed to Dünaburg, and afterwards to Oranienburg, a small town in the province of Woronetz, built in the prosperity of Menzikoff. It is not exactly ascertained how long this family remained there, nor of the young Prince Iwan was removed along with his parents to Kolmogorod, where they ended their days.

Busching, whom we shall principally follow, relates, that when the Regent Anne and her husband were transferred to the last named place, Iwan, then eight years old, was left at Oranienburg, and that some time after a monk found means to remove him from his prison, and carried him to Smolensko, where they were both arrested; and that, to prevent a similar attempt in future, he was resolved to confine him in a place of difficult access. For this purpose the monastery of Valдай was fixed on, which stands on an island of the same name, at no great distance from the high road between Petersburg and Moscow. How long he continued here is not said; nothing certain is known respecting him, till he was transferred to Schlussenburg.

It is, indeed, by no means to be wondered at that this unhappy prince cannot be exactly traced. He was a prisoner from his earliest years, and always strictly guarded. It is well known that he was confined in the fortress of Schlussenburg during eight years, having been escorted there in 1756.

It was about the age of sixteen that Elizabeth had the curiosity to wish to see him. For this purpose he was carried to Petersburg in a very close coach. The interview took place in the house of Count Peter Iwanowitsch, cousin to the empress's favourite. Elizabeth questioned him and conversed with him a long time, without disclosing her rank. It is said, she could not bear the sight of him without melting into tears; and this young prince, who had the mildest nature, asked her why she wept; Elizabeth was so much moved, that she never saw him again:—but ambition spoke, and remorse was silent.

The day after this interview, the unfortunate Iwan was remanded to prison, which Elizabeth intended to render more comfortable; but his fears were too violent to allow his confinement to be mild. The room this prince occupied was situated at the end of a corridor. It was about twenty-five feet square, and arched. The walls were of stone, the floor was paved with bricks, and the windows were coated with a kind of gum, which allowed a melancholy light to enter, but denied any external view. The whole furniture consisted of a bed, a table, and some chairs.

Two officers were continually confined with him; a sentinel was posted on the outside, and a guard of ten soldiers at the extremity of the corridor. The officers and soldiers were forbid

her to put or to answer any questions; and under the reign of Elizabeth, none dared to transgress his command.

Yet she gave orders that he should be indulged with fresh air, but that this should be granted with great precaution. In consequence of this injunction, he was allowed to go into the inner court of the fortress for a few moments, during which he could at least discover the firmament, which seemed not to have been created for him; but the fears of the Russian soldiers, who are passive slaves to their superiors, abridged this enjoyment, and lessened the pleasures of Iwan.

Various portraits have been drawn of this prince, but they are so little like each other, that it is doubtful whether any of them are genuine. Those who have had an opportunity of seeing him, describe him as possessing a most engaging look, of a tall and well-proportioned make; that his skin was of the purest whiteness, his eyes large, and his hair most beautiful.

As for his intellectual powers, which were never allowed to expand, some have maintained that they were very limited; and this is very probable from his situation. Man dwindles under restraint: his energies are unfolded only by collision with others. Others have asserted that he was ordered on fatuity, and sometimes shewed signs of folly. It is certain he could neither read nor write, and, it is most likely, whatever his natural abilities might have been, that he was not allowed to do either.

He spoke Russian, and a few words of the German language, which he had learned from his father and mother, during his childhood; but

but his articulation was indistinct, probably from want of practice; and he stammered much.

He was not ignorant of his origin, or that he once held the splendid situation of emperor. Full of hopes of enjoying liberty once more, and of ascending the throne, he spoke of the conduct he should pursue on that event; and when provoked, threatened punishment to those who had offended him in his captivity.

He was said to be very irascible, and carried his rage to madness, when under intoxication; which during one period was frequent, as he was indulged with whatever he wished for his table; but after he had grossly abused this indulgence, his allowance of wine and liquors was retrenched, in order to prevent his excesses. Still ninety roubles a month, about twenty pounds five shillings, were allowed him; a sum equal to his real wants in the country he existed in.

Some writers have maintained, that his whole wardrobe consisted of a very coarse long woollen gown for summer, and a pelisse of sheep-skin for winter. But persons, who ought to have been better informed, declare that the prisoner had always at his command a great number of suits, which he changed twenty times a day with childish vanity; and that the Empress Elizabeth, who knew his passion for dress, took a pleasure in gratifying it.

As to his religious opinions, it was difficult to appreciate them, because they were probably self-acquired. He had some notion of the Greek religion, prayed often to God with great fervour, but it seems he preferred and observed the worship and communion of his father and mother, who professed protestantism. It is even said he

was a visionary, and pretended to hold conversations with the angel Gabriel; but there is nothing in his life to prove this assertion.

His parents had informed him that Elizabeth filled the throne, from which he had been thrust; but it does not appear that he was acquainted with subsequent events. Yet Peter III. had scarcely assumed the reins of government, when he proposed paying a visit to the unfortunate Iwan, and to make him forget the sufferings of his youth.

This design he executed, taking with him Alexander Naritskin, his grand usher, Baron d'Ungern Sternberg, his aid-de-camp general, and Baron de Korf, master of the police of Petersburg.

As he wished this visit to be made with the greatest secrecy, he had provided himself with his own orders, which he carried with him; namely, that the commandant should open all the gates to those who were the bearers of them; that they should have liberty to converse with Iwan in the absence of the officers and guards, as soon as they should be introduced into the prince's chamber.

Peter III. conversed with him for some time, without making himself known. He even took some coffee with Iwan. The following is the substance of their conversation, as taken from the notes of Baron de Korf.

Peter. Tell me, prince, do you remember the sufferings that assailed your earliest years?

Iwan. I have only a faint idea of them. But so soon as I began to feel my misfortunes, I mingled my tears with those of my father and mother, who were unhappy only on my account; and

and I was deeply afflicted with the harsh treatment they had to bear, in being removed from one fortress to another.

Peter. Whence proceeded this harsh treatment?

Iwan. From the officers to whom we were intrusted, and who almost all joined inhumanity to the rigorous orders which they had received.

Peter. Do you recollect their names?

Iwan. No—I even avoided learning them. We contented ourselves with thanking Heaven, when it sent us any less cruel.

Peter. What, did you never find any of them humane and kind?

Iwan. One deserved to be distinguished from this race of tigers, and he carried with him our esteem and regret. How much he alleviated our misery, by his assiduous and generous attention!

Peter. Do you remember the name of this worthy man?

Iwan. Ah! do I remember it—I can never forget it. It was Baron Korf.

This nobleman, we have seen, was in the emperor's suit. The generosity of Iwan sensibly affected him. Peter too was much moved: he took his attendant by the arm, and said, in a low tone, "Baron, you see a favour is never lost."

While the czar and the baron were recovering from this scene, Ungern Sternberg questioned Iwan if he had lost the hope of ascending the throne. "This hope," replied he, "supports me in this dismal abode." "But if these hopes were realized, how would you act towards the reigning emperor and his wife?" "I would have them executed," said the indignant Iwan, "as two usurpers."

Peter

Peter, who had by this time joined Iwan, heard the last answer, and at first felt offended; but recollecting the state of the prince's mind and his sufferings, he not only forgave him, but making himself known, assured the prince he would use every means in his power to mitigate his lot, and procure him every sort of consolation.

In the mean time he enjoined the commandant to shew the greatest respect to his prisoner, and to allow him liberty to walk round the fortress, for the benefit of the air.

After Peter took his leave, he visited the internal part of the fortress; and observing a spot of ground where a house might be erected, for the better accommodation of Iwan, he thus expressed himself. "I will have it a square building, with nine windows on the same floor, for the prisoner, and the rest of the ground formed into a garden, where he may take the air, and beguile the weariness of his solitude, wherein the misfortunes of the times oblige him to live."

The very next day this work was begun; but Peter did not live long enough to see his benevolent plan carried into effect.

On the emperor's return from this visit, his uncle, Louis Augustus, duke of Holstein, advised him to send Iwan into Germany, with his father, Anthony Ulric, and his children, and to assign them a pension suitable to their birth.

Peter, it is said, was not averse to this advice; but his courtiers, sacrificing humanity to policy, as is the fashion of all courts, pointed out the dangers of dismissing this prince. Prevailed on by their arguments, the czar confined himself to his promise made to Iwan, of rendering his prison as comfortable as possible. He even granted permission

permission, that he should be carried by water to Kexholm, a fortress on an island in the lake Ladoga, much nearer to the court than Schlussenburg.

Iwan was put into a small covered boat, in which he was to be carried to a galliot in waiting to receive him; but on his passage the wind became violent, and the waves so strong, that he was greatly alarmed. Some moments after he recovered his ordinary tranquillity, though the storm increased to such a degree, that the boat, in spite of their exertions, was overfet near the shore, and the prince was saved with the utmost difficulty. Misfortune seemed entailed on him in every instance of his disastrous life.

When Catharine mounted the throne, he was remanded to Schlussenburg, and again was in the greatest danger. Some wretches from the fortress to which he was conveying, the horses in the coach took fright, and ran off. The carriage could not be stopped till the fore wheels broke. In passing through a village, that the prince might be concealed from the eyes of the populace, he was wrapped in a cloak, till he entered his former apartment. This struck him so forcibly that he said, when he entered the fortress, to Ungern, who accompanied him, "Baron, embrace the unfortunate Iwan, for you will never see him more." His words were prophetic: he was now, though unconscious of the cause, about to terminate his career by a frightful death.

Ulasief, a captain, and Tchekin, a lieutenant, had been appointed to guard Iwan in his apartment. A company of about one hundred men were in the fortress. Six soldiers were detached to guard the corridor, and the passages which led to

the prince's room. The rest were in the main body of the guard, at the gate, and in different other parts of the fortress, under the command of the governor. The regiment of Smolensko, quartered in the village, furnished the guard, which was relieved weekly.

Such was the posture of affairs, when a sub-lieutenant, named Vassili-Mirowitsch, formed the wild plan of rescuing Iwan, expecting to be rewarded, should this prince be elevated to the throne.

This officer was grandson to the rebel of the same name, who had revolted against Peter the Great, and joined Charles XII. of Sweden. Mirowitsch had petitioned for the restoration of his grandfather's fortune, which had been confiscated after the battle of Pultowa; and because the empress had refused to listen to his repeated solicitations, he had entered into this frantic scheme. Both ambition and vengeance goaded him on; two passions which are apt to give courage to hatch plots, but cannot furnish the means of putting them in execution. Mirowitsch, without fortune and without support, was but ill adapted for the boldness of his enterprise.

Some months before he put it in force, he imparted his designs to another lieutenant, named Apollo Ufchakoff. These two conspirators went to the church of the Virgin, and took an oath, at the altar, to be secret and faithful to each other; and joining fanaticism to treason, they supplicated the Almighty to protect and favour them. They also prepared a manifesto, which they proposed to publish as soon as Iwan was set at liberty; but this writing was the easiest part of their undertaking to execute.

They delayed their plan till the fine season, when it was imagined the empress would take an excursion into Livonia. Very soon after Miro-witsch lost his confidant. He was accidentally drowned on the 29th of March, as he was going to Smolenko.

Deprived of the assistance of Ufchakoff, the conspirator for some time was at a loss to supply his place. At last he founded a court domestic, named Tikon Casatkin, and gradually inspired him with his own sentiments, but assigned him no particular part to execute. He also disclosed himself to Semen Tchevaridef, a lieutenant of artillery. He communicated his plan to the latter in very ambiguous terms, and spoke of it only as a matter that had been agitated, but without confessing himself as its author.

With such attention and precaution did Miro-witsch prepare to execute this perilous enterprise. He put a mark on the prince's door, that he might not mistake it, and he pointed it out to his friend, Semen Tchevaridef, who had come to visit him.

When his week's duty in the fortress was at an end, without finding a single opportunity favourable to his views, he artfully formed a pretext to solicit, and obtained permission to continue there. At last, on the evening of the 4th of July, he thought a favourable opportunity of attempting his plan presented itself. He imagined the soldiers on guard that day would be more easily seduced than those who had been relieved; but it does not appear that he was sure of any of them, save Jacob Piskoff.

It was not before ten o'clock at night that he made the first communication of his design to
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three corporals and two soldiers, who at first absolutely refused to join him. However, by the insinuations of Piskoff, they were brought to favour his scheme; but they did not enter into it warmly, and fear rendered them irresolute and desirous of procrastination.

Mirowitsch at first appeared to yield to their arguments, and dissembled with them; but about two o'clock next morning he renewed his importunity, and by arguments and money, by the most magnificent promises of reward and promotion, and by his authority as commanding officer, he so effectually wrought on them, that they determined instantly to support him with all their might.

Abetted by these six men, he instantly ordered about forty soldiers, who were on the guard in this part of the fortress, some on watch, others half asleep, to load their fuses, and to follow him. He was the more readily obeyed, as he pretended the empress's orders, and before they could penetrate his designs, he led them to Prince Iwan's apartment.

In the passage he met Berednikoff, commandant of the fort, who was going to bed; but receiving some intimation from a soldier, in whom he placed confidence, he hastened to oppose Mirowitsch. He summoned him to declare the cause of the disturbance, and for answer received a blow on the head, which stunned him.

The conspirator then appeared in the passage that led to the room where the prince was sleeping, ordered the two sentinels to retire, and on their refusal, commanded his party to fire on them.

The sentinels being supported by six of their friends, made a smart opposition; when the sol-

diers led on by Mirowitsch, astonished at an unexpected resistance, discovered they were deceived, and retired in precipitation in spite of the efforts of their conductor, whom they absolutely refused to obey, unless he produced the order from the empress.

Mirowitsch then read a paper he had prepared for this purpose, with a counterfeit signature; and as it was no difficult matter to deceive men so ignorant—by means of prayers, promises, and threats, he pushed them on to a second attempt. To enforce his authority, a cannon was brought from the bastion, which being pointed against the prince's door, resistance was vain, and they were suffered to enter without opposition.

Ulasief and Tchekin, the two officers who guarded the prince in the inside of his apartment, had repulsed the first attack of the assailants, by making the sentinels fire on them; but when they found that the conspirators returned to the charge with cannon, they adopted the cruel resolution of massacring the unhappy prince. Some writers have maintained that these officers had only followed their instructions, rather to kill him than to suffer him to be rescued. If so, ambition hears not the cry of blood!

The wretched Iwan had awaked at the noise, and started from his bed; and though naked and without arms, he opposed his assassins with great resolution. Several times he parried the strokes aimed at him; and with his own hand, though wounded, had broken one of their swords, with which he defended himself till overpowered with numbers, and mangled with wounds. He was at last pierced in the back, and fell. The two officers then opened the door with violence, and
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showing the bloody body to Mirowitsch's party, exclaimed, "There is your emperor!"

At this spectacle the conspirator drew back in horror and surprise; but recovering his intrepidity, and seeing the event, he returned with the most perfect tranquillity to the governor, whom he had given in charge to his adherents; and delivering up his sword to him, coolly observed, "I am now *your* prisoner."

Next day the body of Iwan was exposed to the view of the garrison, covered only with a shirt and a pair of drawers. An immense concourse of people assembled from all parts; and grief and indignation began to be strongly painted in the countenances of all. The misfortunes of this prince, his long imprisonment, his tragical and premature death, all rushed on the minds of the spectators; and as some disturbance might be expected from the increasing crowd, it was judged prudent to put an end to this horrid exhibition. The corpse was wrapped in a sheep-skin, laid in a coffin, and buried in an old chapel, now destroyed.

Intelligence of this affair was immediately dispatched to the empress in Livonia, with a copy of the manifesto, which Mirowitsch intended to publish after the success of his enterprise. Catharine disdained to look on the libel, as she deemed it, which represented her as a double usurper; but she gave orders that the conspiracy should be developed, and that the guilty should suffer the rigour of the laws.

Mirowitsch behaved with so much audacity, that he astonished his judges. His trial was not long. He was condemned to be beheaded, and

his body to be burnt along with the scaffold on which he should die. This sentence was executed at Petersburg on the 26th of September. An immense multitude attended at the death of this man, who preserved an undaunted countenance, and a courage worthy of the best cause. He professed himself a martyr; and when he came to the place of execution, he surveyed the scene with calmness, cast a disdainful look at the executioner, crossed himself, and without uttering a single word, presented his neck to the axe, and received the fatal blow.

Mirowitsch being the principal in the conspiracy, alone suffered death. His accomplices were condemned to different punishments, according to the degrees of their guilt. Piskoff, who was the most criminal, ran twelve times under the rods of a line of one thousand soldiers, and was afterwards sent to the public works; a sentence compared to which, the fate of Mirowitsch was mercy itself.

Before we conclude this affecting narrative, we think it will be desirable to our readers to give a short account of the family of Prince Iwan. Anthony Ulric of Brunswick, his father, was the son of Ferdinand Albert, and of Antoniette, sister to the unfortunate Charlotte Christina, who had married the Czarowitsch Alexis. He was brother to the last Duke Charles of Brunswick, and to the celebrated general Prince Ferdinand.

Anthony Ulric was born in 1714. On his arrival at Petersburg, he married Anne, princess of Mecklenburg, presumptive heiress to the empire, and the solemnities were performed with all the pomp and splendor usually attendant on such high

high expectations. Yet this union brought nothing but misery, exile, and captivity on the parties and their issue.

When the revolution took place, which wrested the scepter from the infant Iwan, his parents were of course involved in the danger. It is said, however, that the princess his mother did not much regret seeing the reins of empire snatched from her hands; and that she had always expressed a wish to be allowed to retire to her native country, should she have the happiness to see her son able to take the government on himself.

Averse to business, and flattered by venal ministers, she gave herself up entirely to their direction. General Munich had the greatest ascendancy over her mind; and he inspired her with such notions as are frequently fatal to the security and glory of princes, as well as to the happiness of their subjects. They brought Anne to sudden ruin.

The prince, her husband, impatient under his misfortunes, perpetually reproached her with being the cause of his and her children's misery; but she bore all with a stoical indifference; and even maintained that all had happened for the best, and that she rejoiced at having saved, by her abdication, the effusion of human blood.

The regent Anne was of a good stature, and of an elegant figure. Her look was sweetness, her voice was harmony. She spoke several languages with ease, and possessed a variety of agreeable accomplishments; but they were in general better adapted to grace a private than a public station.

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She was under an unhappy infatuation in regard to Baroness Julianne de Mengden, an ambitious and unprincipled woman, who, on her own part, was the tool of her brother and her husband, two insatiable courtiers, whom the revenues of Russia would scarcely have satisfied.

After Anne and her family were removed from court, the Empress Elizabeth made her a tender of any favour she might wish to solicit. Instead of asking liberty for herself, her husband, and her relations to withdraw into Germany, she only requested to be allowed to take the Baroness Mengden along with her. Elizabeth granted the silly request; but the baroness, with the ingratitude of a courtier to a fallen mistress, feigned sickness, that she might escape the contagion of misery.

After having languished more than eighteen months in the fortress of Riga, where she suffered a miscarriage, Anne and her family were removed to Dunamunde. In this passage the soldiers, who guarded them, plundered the greatest part of their effects, and they found themselves in the most destitute situation.

Here Anne bore a princess, named Elizabeth; and the empress, pitying their fate, gave orders that they should be provided with every thing that could contribute to pleasure or convenience, save liberty, that sweetens all the rest.

After various removals, they were at last carried to Kolmogorod, situated in one of the isles of the Dwina, about eighty wersts from Archangel. Here they were lodged in a monastery, from which the monks had been expelled; and for greater security it was surrounded with two rows of palisadoes.

No sentinel appeared without, and the soldiers and guards within, were dressed like peasants, instead of an uniform.

For the maintenance of these unfortunate personages, in this abode, as frightful for its situation as for the inclemency of the climate, the empress had assigned a sum more than sufficient; but it fell into faithless hands. The benevolent intentions of Elizabeth were frustrated, and those illustrious prisoners were almost in want of the necessaries of life.

Necessity made them ingenious. The Prince of Brunswick, notwithstanding his distance and his guards, found means to lay his complaints before the throne, when the empress, indignant, banished the faithless administrators into Siberia, changed the guard, and gave peremptory orders that every provision should be made that could mitigate their sufferings.

The climate, however, made rapid inroads on the health of Anne, and she fell a martyr to misfortune in the twenty-eighth year of her age. Her husband, in whose arms she died, wished to accompany her to the grave; but after the fates had deprived him of all that was dear on earth, they denied him this consolation. He long survived her, and after a mournful confinement of thirty-nine years at Kolmogorod, his spirit at last was released from the prison of matter; and he expired in the sixty-seventh year of his age; perhaps a greater object of pity than his son, as his sufferings were of much longer duration, and he had once known the sweets of liberty, which the other never did.

Catharine II. being freed from all dread of this family, did not wish to outrage humanity without

without a cause; and the children of Anne and Anthony Ulric were set at liberty.

Very soon after their father's death, two princes and princesses, of whom the eldest was upwards of forty years of age, were conveyed from Kolmogorod to Archangel, and thence transported to Bergen in Norway, whence they were embarked for Horsens in Jutland, a port on the Baltic Sea. There they were placed under the protection of their aunt, the Queen-dowager of Denmark; and the Empress of Russia assigned an adequate pension for their support.

History furnishes many instances of the tragical end of princes, who have been sacrificed either to policy, or to expiate their crimes; but no death, however dreadful, can be put in the scale with even the mildest imprisonment for life. The lingering death of confinement, the total extinction of hope, and the constant presence of despair, present scenes, from which the heart recoils with horror, and flies with pleasure to the oblivion of the grave.

NARRATIVE

NARRATIVE
OF THE
DREADFUL SUFFERINGS,
OF
MR. HOLWELL
AND OTHERS,
IN THE
BLACK-HOLE OF CALCUTTA.

A MIDST the various pictures of human misery, which history presents to our contemplation, there is scarcely one that unites more features of horror than that which we are about to describe. The refinements of cruelty, and the insensibility of despotism, were never displayed in a stronger light, than in confining so many persons from the use of air, and exposing them to all the horrors of suffocation, without pity and without remorse.

In the year 1756, died the suba of Bengal, Balar and Brixa, and was succeeded by his adopted son, Sur Raja al Dowlat, a young man of the most violent passions, and destitute of every principle that could curb their impetuosity.

Rapacious, perfidious, and rash, he commenced an unprovoked war against the English settlements

ments, on a belief, as it is supposed, that they abounded in treasures which he longed to enjoy. No other consistent reason could be assigned for his commencing hostilities.

He first invested Cassimbuzar, and inviting Mr. Watt's, the chief of the factory, to a conference, detained him a prisoner, though under the sanction of a safe conduct; and thus, by means of fraud and force united, made himself master of the settlement.

Successful in his first enterprise, he no longer concealed his designs of annihilating the power of the English; and without loss of time, he marched to Calcutta, at the head of a numerous army.

Having invested this place, which was then in no posture of defence, the governor was intimidated; he abandoned the fort, and together with some of the principal inhabitants, took refuge on board a ship in the river, carrying along with them the most valuable effects and the books of the company.

By this secession, the defence of the place devolved on Mr. Holwell, the next in command, who, with the assistance of a few gallant officers, and a very feeble garrison, maintained the post with uncommon courage and resolution, against the repeated attacks of numbers. At last, however, he was overpowered; the enemy had forced their way into the castle, and he was obliged to submit.

The terms, however, he obtained, even in this last extremity, were highly honourable, had they been observed. The suba promised, on the word of a soldier, that neither he nor his garrison should suffer any injury. Nevertheless, they were

all

all driven, to the number of one hundred and forty-six persons, of both sexes, into a place called the Black-hole Prison, a cube of about eighteen feet, wholly closed to the eastward and southward, the only quarters from whence the least refreshing air could be expected, and open to the westward by two windows, strongly grated with iron, through which there was no perceptible circulation of the vital fluid.

It is needless to try to interest the feelings of humanity for these unhappy persons. Every reader of sensibility will conceive the horrors of their situation, thus cooped up in a close sultry night, under the climate of Bengal; especially when he reflects, that many of them were wounded, and all of them exhausted with the fatigues of hard duty, and ineffectual resistance.

In the first paroxysms of rage, at finding themselves thus barbarously treated, and exposed to the immediate danger of suffocation, those hapless victims of a tyrant's perfidy endeavoured to force the door, that they might rush upon the swords of the miscreants who surrounded them; but all their efforts were in vain. Unfortunately, the door opened inwards, and being once shut, so great was the pressure of the crowd towards it, that every attempt of this kind was rendered abortive by impatience and distraction.

Despair now began to seize on all, and death, in the most hideous form, seemed fast advancing. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself at one of the windows, accosted a jemmedaur, or sergeant of the Indian guard; and, having endeavoured, by the impressive language of agony and despair, to excite his commiseration for their sufferings, promised to make him a present of a

thousand rupees next morning, if he could only find means to remove one half of them into a separate apartment. Under their present circumstances, this would not only have been mercy but salvation, to numbers; but the favour could not be obtained.

The soldier, indeed, allured by such a promised reward, assured Mr. Holwell he would do his utmost to procure relief, and retired for this purpose; but returned in a few minutes with the melancholy intelligence, that the suba was asleep, and that no one dared to disturb his repose, or take such a step without his orders. The death blow was thus given to their last hope: the sequel is pregnant with misery.

By this time a profuse sweat had broke out on every individual, attended with an insatiable thirst, which increased as the body became drained of internal moisture.

In vain those miserable objects stripped themselves of their clothes, squatted down on their hams, to obtain room, and fanned the air with their hats, to produce a refreshing undulation. Many were unable to rise from this posture, and falling down, were trod to death, or suffocated. Their thirst was now accompanied by a difficulty of respiration, and every individual gasped for breath.

The agonies of death gave a new stimulus to despair; they became outrageous; they again attempted to force the door; and to provoke the guard to fire on them, by every term of execration and abuse. The cry of "water! water!" was heard from every mouth. Even the jemmedaur himself was moved to compassion, at their intolerable distress. By his orders some skins of

water

water were brought, which served only to inflame the raging appetite for drink, and to increase the general agitation.

The only way by which the wished-for fluid could be conveyed through the windows, was by hats; and this was rendered in a great measure ineffectual, by the eagerness and transports of the wretched prisoners, who no sooner saw it, than they struggled and raved to possess it. Reason had ceased to operate on their conduct in general, or it would have taught them that their personal contests could only tend to the misery of all. In consequence of their frantic competition for the supplies that were offered them, very little water reached those who stood nearest the windows; while the rest, at the farther end of the prison, were totally excluded from any share, and continued their unavailing prayers to their friends for assistance, conjuring them by all the tender ties of pity and affection; ties which the extremity of their common misery had almost entirely dissolved.

To those who were indulged with water, it proved pernicious, for, instead of allaying their burning thirst, it only enraged their cupidity for more. The confusion soon became general and horrible; all was clamour and contest; the more remote endeavoured to force their way to the window for a breath of air; and the weak or exhausted were trodden down, to rise no more.

The brutal ruffians, who guarded them, seemed to derive entertainment from their misery; they supplied their prisoners with water, rather that they might enjoy the inhuman pleasure of seeing them fight for the baneful indulgence, than that they might satisfy their craving desires.

By this time Mr. Holwell, with distraction, saw all his particular friends lying dead around him, and trampled upon by the living; and finding himself so wedged in, as to be deprived of all motion, requested, as the last instance of their regard, that they would remove the pressure a little, and allow him to retire to the window, that he might die in quiet.

Even under those aggravated circumstances of misery, which might be supposed to have levelled all distinctions, the poor delirious, dying wretches manifested a respect for his rank and character: they hastened to allow him room to move, and he forced his passage into the centre of the prison, which by this time was less crowded, from the number who had breathed their last, and lay prostrate, and in little space, on the floor. Those who still retained the hopes of life crowded round the windows, panting and gasping for breath.

At this period Mr. Holwell seems to have resigned himself to his fate. He retired to a platform at the farther end of the room, and lying down on some of his dead friends, recommended his soul to heaven.

He had not, however, continued long in this place, before his thirst grew insupportable; his difficulty of respiration increased, and he was seized with a violent palpitation. These shocking symptoms urged him to make another effort. He forced his way back to the window, and exclaimed aloud, "water! for God's sake, water!"

His wretched companions in affliction, had supposed him already dead; but finding him still alive they exhibited another extraordinary proof of tenderness and personal regard. "Give him water,"

they cried with one voice; nor would one of them attempt to touch it, till he had drank. Soon after he breathed with greater freedom, and the palpitation went off; but finding that drinking only inflamed his thirst, he abstained from water, and moistened his mouth, from time to time, by sucking the perspiration from his shirt sleeves, which was soft, pleasant, and refreshing; while his own urine, which, in his agony, he had attempted to drink, proved intolerably bitter.

The miserable prisoners perceiving that water rather aggravated than relieved their distress, grew clamorous for air, and repeated their insults to the guard; loading the suba and his governor with the most virulent abuse. Their rage dying away as their strength became more exhausted, they had recourse to prayer, and implored heaven to put an end to their misery.

Death now mowed them down without distinction; they began to fall on all sides, when a steam arose from the living and the dead, as pungent and volatile as spirit of hartshorn, which instantly suffocated those who could not approach the windows.

Mr. Holwell again relinquishing the care or the hope of life, retired once more to the platform, and stretched himself by the Reverendervas Bellamy, who, together with his son, a lieutenant, lay clasped in the embraces of death. In a short time he became totally insensible: the interval between this and break of day, was a perfect blank. When his body was discovered by his surviving friends in the morning, he lay to all appearance dead, but being carried to one of the windows, the fresh air revived him, and at last he

opened his eyes to the light of heaven, and felt reason rushing to the citadel she had deserted.

When it was day, the suba being informed that the greatest part of the prisoners had been suffocated, enquired if the chief was saved; and being answered in the affirmative, sent immediate orders for their release, when no more than twenty-three survived, out of the one hundred and forty-six who had entered this prison of death.

Such misery, it might be supposed, would have melted the most obdurate heart; but the suba felt no emotions of pity or remorse; the wretched remainder would probably have been left to their fate, had he not received intimation that a considerable treasure was secreted in the fort, and that Mr. Holwell knew the place where it was deposited.

In hopes of profiting by such a discovery, the suba ordered him and his surviving companions, who had been seized with a lingering fever, immediately, on their release, to be dragged before him, and in this condition he questioned them respecting the treasure, which existed only in his own imagination, though he would give no credit to the solemn asseverations of Mr. Holwell, that he was perfectly unacquainted with such a deposit.

The chief and three of his friends were loaded with fetters, and conveyed three miles to the Indian camp, where they lay all night exposed to a severe rain. Next morning they were brought back to town, manacled, under the scorching beams of a sun, intensely hot. Indeed nothing could have saved them from destruction, but an effort which nature made, by throwing

out the peccant matter of the fever in the form of boils, which covered the whole body.

In this piteous condition they were embarked in an open boat for Muxadabat, the capital of Bengal, and underwent such cruelty and misery in their passage, as is shocking to relate, and which reflects indelible disgrace on the agents and principals in this business.

At Muxadabat, they were conducted through the streets in chains, as a spectacle to the inhabitants, lodged in an open stable, and treated for some days as the worst of criminals.

At length humanity touched the heart of the suba's grandmother. She interposed her mediation in their behalf; and, as that prince was by this time convinced, that there was no treasure concealed at Calcutta, he ordered them to be set at liberty.

As if every sentiment of humanity had been extinct in their breasts, some of his courtiers opposed this indulgence, representing that Mr. Holwell was still able to pay a considerable sum for his ransom; but the suba replied, with some marks of compunction and generosity, "if he has any thing left, let him keep it: his sufferings have been great, and we will no longer debar him of his liberty."

In consequence of this, Mr. Holwell and his friends were unfettered, and immediately took water for the Dutch Tankfall, or mint, in the vicinity of the city, where they were received with great tenderness and humanity; and gradually recovered from the effects of their intolerable hardships.

The suba, having destroyed Calcutta, and dispersed the inhabitants, extorted large sums from the

the Dutch and French factories; that he might display a spirit of impartiality against all the Europeans, even in his oppression. But his triumph was not long; and in the end he paid dear for his outrages on our countrymen, and on humanity itself.

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IN 1783,
BY SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, K. B.

THE violent earthquakes, which began on the 5th of February 1783, engaged the attention of all Europe, and the phenomena attending them, have been recorded in the transactions of various learned societies.

Sir William Hamilton, a gentleman of a philosophical turn of mind, and particularly curious on the subject of volcanoes, to which his long residence in their vicinity, as minister at Naples, might probably lead him; not satisfied with the general information he received, determined, as soon as the earthquakes became moderate, to visit the scenes where the greatest and most awful visitations had taken place, and to describe them on the spot.

In conformity to this resolution, he hired a Maltese speronara for himself, and a Neapolitan felucca for his servants, and left Naples on the

2d of May. By the particular directions of his Sicilian majesty, he was furnished with ample passports, and orders to facilitate his researches, and to procure him protection.

He had a pleasant voyage along the coast in his speronara. At Cedraro he found the first symptoms of the earthquakes; some of the principal inhabitants having taken up their abode in temporary barracks through fear, though not a house in the town had been demolished.

At St. Lucido, he perceived that the baron's palace and the church steeple had suffered; and that most of the inhabitants were in temporary buildings. Being desirous to get on as fast as possible to the centre of the mischief, he contented himself with a distant view of Maida, Nicastro, and Santo Eufemia, and landed at the town of Pizzo in Calabria Ultra, on the 6th of May.

This town had been greatly damaged by the earthquake on the 5th of February; but was completely ruined by that on the 28th of March. As the inhabitants, however, had sufficient warning to retire, the mortality at first was inconsiderable; but having taken up their temporary abode in a confined, insalubrious spot, an epidemical disorder broke out, which was then raging, in spite of all the wise precautions of government to stop its progress.

Sir William Hamilton was informed here, that the opposite volcano of Stromboli had smoked less, and thrown up a smaller quantity of burning matter, during the earthquake, than it had done for several years; and that slight shocks continued to be felt daily. At night he slept on board his vessel; but was awakened by a smart shock,

shock, which seemed to lift up the bottom of the boat.

Next day he proceeded to Reggio, and rode from thence to Monteleone, through a most beautiful and fertile country, abounding in fruit, olive, and forest trees, and the richest crops of corn and vegetables. The olive woods in this track are of great size, and are sometimes planted regularly in rows.

The town of Monteleone, the ancient Vibo Valentia, is charmingly situated on a hill, overlooking the sea. It suffered little by the first earthquake, but was greatly damaged by the subsequent shocks, and some lives were lost. The inhabitants were then in barracks; and as this part of the country has ever been subject to earthquakes, the dukes of Monteleone had long ago erected a spacious and commodious barrack, to which the family constantly retired, on the first appearance of danger.

By the kindness of this nobleman, our inquisitive tourist was well lodged, and furnished with horses and guards, to visit every curious spot in the vicinity. All agreed here, that every shock of the earthquake seemed to proceed with a rumbling noise from the westward; and that, before its commencement, the clouds seemed to be fixed and motionless.

Our author conversed with many persons who were thrown down by the violence of some of the shocks. They told him the motion of the earth was so violent, that the heads of the largest trees almost touched the ground; and that animals seemed to have the earliest presentiment of danger.

From Monteleone he descended through many towns and villages, which had been more or less damaged,

damaged, according to their vicinity to the plain. The town of Mileto, at the bottom, had not a house standing. At some distance, Soriano and the noble dominican convent were a heap of ruins. At the former, two hogs were dug out alive, after being without food for forty-two days. Various instances of this kind occurred in different parts.

After passing through the ruined town of St. Pietro, they had a distant view of Sicily and the summit of Etna, which smoked inconsiderably. Near Rosarno, they passed over a swampy plain watered by the Mamella, in many parts of which were small hollows in the earth, of the shape of an inverted cone, and covered with sand. During the earthquake of the 5th of February, from each of those cavities a fountain of water, mixed with sand, had spouted to a considerable height. Before this appearance, the river was dry; but soon after returned, and overflowed its banks. This phenomenon had attended all the other rivers in the plain, during that formidable convulsion.

Between this place and Rosarno, they passed the river Messano, by a strong timber bridge, seven hundred palm's long, which had taken an undulated form, and was considerably damaged.

The town of Rosarno, with the duke of Monteleone's palace there, was entirely demolished. The mortality, however, did not much exceed two hundred out of near three thousand inhabitants. It had been constantly remarked, that the male dead were generally found under the ruins, in the attitude of struggling against danger; but that the female attitude was commonly with the hands clasped over the head, unless when they had children near them, in which case they were

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found clasping them in their arms, or in some position that indicated female tenderness and maternal fondness.

After dining in a barrack, the owner of which had lost five of his family, they proceeded to Lauranea, often crossing the wide-extended bed of the river Metauro. The environs of this town are a perfect Eden, and few lives were lost here, as the situation is elevated, and the inhabitants were apprized of the danger.

A gentleman of Mileto attended Sir William Hamilton to the two tenements, called Macini and Vaticano, which had changed their position. These tenements, as they are called, were situated in a valley, surrounded by high grounds. They are about a mile long and half a mile broad; and were floated down the valley near a mile, with most of the trees erect, and a thatched cottage still entire.

From thence they travelled through the same delightful country to Polestene. Not a single house was to be seen standing here: all was devastation and misery. Every surviving inhabitant wore a doleful face, and some melancholy token of having lost their dearest connections.

"I travelled four days in the plain," says Sir William, "in the midst of such misery as cannot be described. All the inhabitants of the towns were buried, either dead or alive, in an instant. Two thousand one hundred, out of six thousand persons, lost their lives on the fatal 5th of February. The Marquis of St. Giorgio, the baron of the place, was humanely employed in finding shelter and employment for those who had escaped the catastrophe.

"After dining with the marquis in his humble barrack, near the ruins of his very magnificent palace, I passed through fine woods of olive and chesnut trees, to Casal Nuova, and was shewn the spot on which stood the palace of my unfortunate friend, the princess Gerace Grimaldi, who, with more than four thousand of her subjects, lost her life by the sudden explosion of the 5th of February.

"I was informed here, by some who had been dug out of the ruins, that they felt their houses fairly lifted up, without the least previous notice. An inhabitant of Casal Nuovo told me that, being on a hill at the moment of the earthquake, overlooking the plain, he turned as he felt the shock, and instead of the town, saw a thick cloud of white dust rise like smoke."

From thence they went to Castellace and Milicusco, both in the same forlorn condition. At Terra Nuova was a ravine five hundred feet deep, and three quarters of a mile broad; yet such was the violence of the earthquake, that some hundreds of houses were detached into the ravine, and nearly carried across it, about half a mile from their original situation. Our tourist met with some persons who had taken this singular flight, and were dug out alive.

"I spoke to one," says Sir William, "who had taken this journey in his house, with his wife and a maid servant. Neither he nor the latter were hurt; but his wife had both her legs and one arm broke, and received a fracture on her skull, so that the brain was visible; nevertheless she recovered.

Of one thousand six hundred inhabitants of Terra Nuova, only four hundred escaped with

A priest and physician here, had been shut up in the ruins of his house by the first shock, and liberated by a second. There are many well-attested instances of the same having happened in other parts of Calabria.

At the moment of the earthquake, the river disappeared here as at Rosarno; and returning soon after, filled the ravine three feet deep in water.

The whole town of Mollochi di Sotto, near Terra Nuovo, was likewise detached into the ravine; and they saw a vineyard of many acres lying in its bottom in perfect order, but in an inclined situation. Some water-mills on the river were lifted many feet above its bed.

The next place they visited was Oppido, a city standing on a mountain, and surrounded by two rivers in an immense ravine, formed by the earthquake. Some of the houses of Oppido were thrown into this gulph; but this was a trifling circumstance, compared to the large tracks of land, with plantations of vines and olives, which were carried quite across it.

"It is a well attested fact," says Sir William, "that a countryman, who was ploughing his field in this neighbourhood with two oxen, was transported with his field and team, from on side of the ravine to the other, without the least hurt. I met here, continues he, with a remarkable instance of the immediate distress to which the inhabitants of the destroyed towns were reduced. Don Marcillo Grillo, a gentleman of fortune and of great landed property, having escaped from his house at Oppido, remained several days, without food or shelter, during heavy rains, and was

at last obliged to a hermit, in the neighbourhood, for the loan of a clean shirt."

Having walked over the ruins of Oppido, they descended into the ravine, and found many acres of woodland and arable ground in perfect order in its bottom. Whole vineyards had taken the same journey, and some considerable mountains occupied the same gulph.

At Oppido our author was shewn two girls, one about sixteen years of age, who had remained under the ruins eleven days without food; she had a child of a few months old in her arms, who died the fourth day. The other girl was about eleven years old; she was dug out on the sixth day; but being in a very confined and distressful posture, one of her hands pressing against her cheek, had nearly worn a hole through it.

From Oppido they proceeded through several ruined towns and villages to Seminara and Palmi. The houses of the former, being more elevated, were not so ruinous as those of the latter. One thousand four hundred lives were lost at Palmi, and all the dead bodies, that could be recovered, were removed and burnt, as in most other places, to prevent contagion.

"I shall never forget," says Sir William, "a melancholy figure of a woman in mourning, sitting on the ruins of her house, her head reclined on her hand and knee, and following, with an anxious, eager eye, every stroke of the pickaxe of the labourers, employed to clear away the rubbish, in hopes of recovering the corpse of a favourite child."

This town was a great market for oil, of which there were upwards of four thousand barrels, and

the time of its destruction ; so that a river of oil ran into the sea from it, for many hours.

From Palmi, Sir William proceeded through the beautiful woody mountains of Bagnara and Solano, but dangerous on account of robbers and precipices. In the midst of a narrow pass they met a smart shock, accompanied by a loud explosion, like that of springing a mine ; but fortunately they received no hurt.

After passing those woods, they travelled through rich corn fields and lawns, and reaching the top of an open plain on a hill, they had a view of the Faro of Messina, and the whole coast of Sicily as far as Catania, with Mount Etna rising proudly beyond it.

From thence they descended to the Torre del Pizzolo, where an epidemical distemper had already manifested itself. Several fishermen assured them that, during the earthquake of the 5th of February, at night, the sand near the sea was hot, and that they saw fire issue from the earth in many parts.

From this place to Reggio, the road on each side is covered with villas and orange groves. Not one house was levelled to the ground, but all had been damaged and abandoned.

About sun-set they arrived at Reggio, which had not an inhabited house in it ; yet it had comparatively suffered little. All the inhabitants had taken up their residence in barracks. The archbishop had distinguished himself by his good sense and humanity. He disposed of all the superfluous ornaments of the churches, of his own horses and furniture, for the sole relief of his distressed flock.

Silk and essence of bergamot, oranges and lemons, are the principle articles of trade at Reggio. Not less than one hundred thousand quarts of this essence are annually exported. The fruit, after the rind is taken off, is given to the cows and oxen, whose flesh smells strongly of bergamot.

The mortality here did not exceed one hundred and twenty-six. As the earthquake happened about noon, the inhabitants had time to escape; whereas the shock in the plain was as instantaneous, as it was violent and destructive.

Reggio has frequently been destroyed by earthquakes; and after one catastrophe of this nature, was rebuilt by Julius Cæsar. Part of the wall still remains, and is called the Julian Tower.

There are some towns in the neighbourhood of Reggio that still retain the Greek language, of which our author had evidence in a former tour.

On the 14th of May, they left Reggio, and proceeded to Messina by sea. The port, and the town in its half ruined state, were strikingly picturesque. The force of the earthquake, though certainly violent, was trivial, when compared to its violence in the plain.

Many of the most superb buildings in the lower paths of the town were shattered; and some tumbled down; but in the higher parts, little comparative damage had been sustained.

The mortality at Messina did not exceed seven hundred in a population of thirty thousand, a proof how well it escaped. Some houses were inhabited and shops open; but the generality of the inhabitants were in tents and barracks.

"I could not help remarking here," says our author, "that the nuns, who likewise live in barracks, were constantly walking about, under the tuition of their confessor, and seemed to enjoy the liberty which the earthquakes had given them. I made the same observation with respect to the schoolboys at Reggio; from whence I concluded, that earthquakes were particularly pleasing to nuns and schoolboys."

Out of the cracks of the quay, it is said that, during the earthquake, fire was seen to issue; but as there were no visible signs of it, it was probably no more than an electric vapour, or a kind of inflammable air.

Various instances occurred here of the long abstinence from food which animals are capable of supporting. Two mules, belonging to the Duke of Belviso, remained under a heap of ruins twenty-two days, and afterwards recovered. There are numberless instances of dogs remaining in the same situation. None of these animals could eat at first, but they all drank freely; it is, therefore, probable that long fasting is always attended with a great thirst and a total loss of appetite.

A small fish, called Cicirelli, resembling a white bait, but larger, which generally lies buried in the sand at the bottom of the sea, was caught in prodigious quantities after the earthquakes; though before it was rare. All the fishermen along the coast of Sicily and Calabria, confirmed the truth of this circumstance. Hence it is probable, that the sand at the bottom of the sea was heated by the volcanic fire under it, or that the continual tremor of the earth had driven the fish out of their retreats.

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The officer, who commanded in the citadel of Messina, on the fatal 5th of February, assured our author, that the sea, about a quarter of a mile from that fortress, rose and boiled in a most extraordinary manner, and with a most horrid and alarming noise; the water in other parts of the Faro being perfectly calm.

On the 17th of May, Sir William left Messina, where he had met with the kindest and most hospitable reception; and proceeded in his squadron along the Sicilian coast, to the entrance of the Faro, where he landed, and found a priest who almost lost his life by an amazing wave, that passed over the point on the night between the 5th and 6th of February. It rose to such a height, and came on with such rapidity, that nothing could resist its fury. Twenty-four unhappy people lost their lives in an instant; and a poor priest, who was in the tower on the point, was carried away with half of the building.

From this place Sir William crossed over to Scilla, where he met with the Padre Minasi, a very able naturalist, who was employed by the academy of Naples to give a description of the phenomena attending the earthquakes in those parts.

This gentleman explained the nature of the formidable wave which was felt at Faro, but here did immense damage, sweeping the prince of Scilla, and two thousand four hundred and seventy-three of his unfortunate subjects, into the sea. It was occasioned by a mountain thrown into the sea, which immediately raised the water, though calm before, in a most tremendous manner, and dashed the miserable persons, who had sought for shelter in boats, against the rocks, or swallowed them up in the deep. A second and a third

wave

have succeeded, though of diminished force; and prevented the unhappy sufferers, in general, from recovering the shock of the first.

"I spoke here," says Sir William, "to several men, women, and children, who had been cruelly maimed, or carried into the sea by this dreadful accident. Here, said one, my head was forced through the door of the cellar, which he shewed me broken. There, said another, was I drove into a barrel. Then a woman shewed me her child, covered with deep wounds from the stones and timber, dashing about in the water in this narrow port. One woman, four months gone with child, was swept into the sea by the wave, and taken up alive, floating on her back, at some distance, nine hours after. She did not even miscarry, and soon recovered her health. Being used to swimming, as most of the women of Calabria are, she had kept above water till she despaired of relief, and was just trying to force her head under water, as the boat appeared to pick her up.

In his way back to Naples, where he arrived on 23d of May. Sir William Hamilton traversed the coast of the two Calabrias, going ashore at Tropea, Paula, and in the bay of Palinurus. Tropea was little damaged, though the inhabitants were in barracks. There had been a smart shock felt here on the 15th of May.

During our tourists stay in Calabria and Sicily, five shocks had been felt, three of which were rather alarming. We conclude with an abstract of his sentiments on the causes of the convulsions of nature, which he had been investigating. "My idea," says he, "of the present local earthquakes, is that they have been caused by the same kind of mat-

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ter that gave birth to the Eolian, or Lipari islands, that perhaps an opening may have been made at the bottom of the sea, and that the foundation of a new island or volcano may have been laid, though it may be ages, which to nature are but moments, before it is completed, and appears above the surface of the sea. Nature is ever active; but her progress in general is so slow, as not to be perceived by mortal eye, or recorded in the very short space of time, which we call history, be it ever so ancient. Perhaps too the whole destruction I have been describing, may have proceeded simply from the exhalations of confined vapours, generated by the fermentation of such minerals as produce volcanos, which have escaped, where they met with the least resistance, and therefore naturally affected the plains more than the mountains."

NARRATIVE

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THE SUFFERINGS OF

JAMES BRISTOW,

OF THE

Bengal Artillery,

DURING TEN YEARS CAPTIVITY WITH HYDER AL-
LY AND TIPPOO SAIB.

THE man who can read this melancholy narrative, without feeling the generous glow of indignation against tyranny, is formed to be a slave. To every person, who exults in the happiness of mankind, and rejoices in the prosperity of his country, it must give pleasure to know, that the restless disturber of the east has since been humbled; but we fear not enough, to prevent his future machinations, should ever his ally, France, be in a condition to assist him. But we will not detain our readers, by political reflections, from the banquet of sorrow which Bristow has furnished, or from the contemplation of his wonderful resolution.

I was born, says he, in the year 1757, in Norwich, in the county of Norfolk. My father, who was a blacksmith, bound me apprentice to a carpenter, with whom I did not, however, remain a complete twelvemonth, being allured, more by a desire

desire to see the world, than the bounty of one shilling, which I received, to enlist with Captain Monney, then recruiting for the Honourable East India Company. When the captain had collected to the number of fifty recruits, he marched us up to London, where we underwent an examination on the day of our arrival, and were, to my no small disappointment, sent down to Gravesend that very evening, and embarked on board the Prince of Wales Indiaman, under dispatch for Bengal, and commanded by Captain Scott.

My whole stock, when on board, consisted in the jacket and trowsers I wore, with half a guinea in specie, which each man had received from the company. Thus provided, I commenced foldier at the early age of fourteen years, and soon forgot both anxiety for myself, and concern for those I had left.

On the 1st of April, 1771, we sailed from England with a fair wind, and landed in Bengal, after a prosperous passage, of six months.

Very soon after my arrival in Bengal, I was, with other recruits, sent up to Dinapore, to complete the first European regiment, then commanded by Colonel Champion, and appointed to Captain Moses Crawford's company. I was by this time perfectly reconciled to my situation, for which I had not been without apprehensions, so natural to a young adventurer, who quits his native soil, and traverses the ocean to a distant region, which ignorance, and the prejudices of education, have taught him to dread.

The troops at Dinapore took the field shortly after my arrival, under the command of General Sir Robert Barker: it was then that I, for the

first time in my life, beheld an Indian army; and the magnificence, as well as disorder, which reigned in Sujah Dowlah's camp, filled me with an astonishment.

As the history of this campaign is equally unimportant and foreign to the present narrative, I shall pass it over, as well as what befel me for several years afterwards, in silence: let it suffice, that having obtained a recommendation to Captain, now Lieutenant Colonel, Hussey, of the artillery, I renewed in that corps in 1779, and on the 11th of October, 1780, being previously appointed camp colourman, embarked with Captain Hussey's and another company of artillery, and six of infantry, on board the Kingston, for the purpose of escorting Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, to Madras.

In the roads of Ballasore we met a violent gale of wind, which might have proved fatal to the British interest in the east, as all the hopes of the other presidency centered in the succours to arrive from Bengal; but it abated after a few days, and we experienced a good passage against the monsoon, or south-westerly winds, landing at Fort St. George, to the great joy of the whole settlement, on the 5th of November following.

The general's first care was to collect the dismayed troops at St. Thomas's Mount, with a view immediately to arrest the progress of Hyder's devastations. On the very day our detachment left the fort, Sergeant Dempster, of the same company with myself, of whom mention is made hereafter, deserted, and went over to Hyder.

We took the field under our veteran commander on the 17th of January, 1781, with all the troops that could be collected and spared for the

purpose. The grand army consisted of about seven or eight thousand effective men, one eighth part of which were cavalry, and sixty pieces of ordnance. With a proportion of military stores. This respectable body of men, formidable if opposed in battle array to the most numerous rabble of Asia, moved to the relief of Wandewash, then closely invested by Hyder Ally's troops. Five days afterwards Carangooly was surprised by a detachment from the army under Captain Davies, and Hyder abandoned the siege the moment he heard of our approach. After throwing succours into this place, the army continued its march, and on the 5th of February, sat down on the Red Hills near Pondicherry. It was here that my sufferings, for a length of years, commenced.

I accompanied Lieutenant Doxat, our quartermaster of artillery, to Pondicherry, for the purpose of destroying the French boats, that M. d'Orves, who had a few days before appeared on the coast with a fleet, might not effect the landing of military supplies, and a party of Frenchmen for Hyder's service, and which attempt he had already made, but precipitately relinquished, when our army approached. We spiked several iron guns, which the French had buried in the sand on the beach, and had just broke up and set fire to all the boats, when the day dawned and forced us to retire, to avoid the firing from the fleet. Our camp was within two miles of the town, but before we had proceeded half way thither, a prodigious bustle and hurry of people, running confusedly towards Pondicherry, announced a party of Hyder's horse, which had interposed between the town and our camp. Waggon's overset, and loads of

different articles, proceeding to our bazar, lay scattered and abandoned on the ground. Lieutenant Doxat, who instantly mounted his horse, had barely passed a cross road, when a party of them came suddenly upon me. I was instantly seized, and removed to a convenient distance from the high road, and stripped of every thing I possessed. These daring *looties* * destroyed every thing they met with, but had no time for removing the plunder, being pursued from our camp.

My situation from this instant became truly deplorable; robbed of liberty, I found myself in the clutches of barbarians, who treated me with cruelty and scorn, and kept me in suspense with respect to my life. I was not, however, indulged with much time to contemplate the horrors of my situation; for having bound my arms behind me, they hurried me almost naked before Hyder, on the 6th of February, who was then encamped on the right flank of our army, at about five or six miles distance, between us and Cuddalore. Hyder's tent exhibited nothing very extraordinary and magnificent, except a rich Persian carpet spread on the ground, and held down by four massy silver weights at the corners, something in form resembling sugar loaves. Several French officers were present; I was interrogated through one of them, who spoke English, with respect to the strength and destination of our army; but having replied, that our troops amounted to thirty-five thousand men, and that we had seventy pieces of ordnance in the field, the interpreter briskly told me, "I lied," we had no such thing! Hyder was so much exasperated at my

* A banditti of freebooters.

attempt to deceive him, that he kept me three days without any food, tied down on the ground in the rear of his tent, which was the station I constantly occupied during the seven days I remained in his camp. In this miserable situation, lying bound on the bare sand when halting, exposed to the weather, day and night, without any nourishment, I must inevitably have perished, if the humanity of my guards had not relieved me with some food now and then by stealth.

On the fourth day, Hyder having encamped near Cuddelore, where the English army was entrenched, I received a visit from Mahomed Beg, a dubash, who spoke English; he ordered me one seer of rice and two pice per day, which I received for four days, after which Mahomed Beg paid me a second visit, and proposed to me to enter into Hyder's service: in order to prevail on me, he promised that I should be well treated, and receive good pay; but finding me obstinate in refusing, he went away apparently much dissatisfied, and it was not long before I felt the ill effects of my noncompliance, for half my daily allowance in money, together with some provisions I had received from Hyder's kitchen the last four days, were immediately curtailed, and I was removed to Gingee, a small fort on a rock, which had been surrendered to Hyder in a cowardly manner the preceding December, by a party of the nabob's troops, which chiefly composed the garrison. Before I was removed from Hyder's camp, I had the mortification to see our whole army drawn up in order of battle, three days successively. Fortunately some of my own clothes and a blanket had been restored to me the day before I was desired to enter into Hyder's service. On my arrival

rival at Gingee, I was hand-cuffed, and from thence, the succeeding day, removed to Arcot, where my hand-cuffs were exchanged for heavy leg-irons. I remained near three weeks in the prison of Arcot, and might, I am pretty certain, have escaped, had it only once, during that period, proved a very dark or rainy night; but I was reserved for severer trials.

Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, Lieutenant Frazer, and a Mr. Skardon, were at this time confined in Arcot. The latter of these gentlemen had been the English resident at Pondicherry, and treacherously delivered up by the French inhabitants, who were suffered to reside unmolested on their paroles at the time of committing this act of barbarity. Prior to my remove from hence, my irons were taken off, and the hand-cuffs again replaced, probably because heavy fetters might retard the march to Seringapatam, to which place I was next destined. On the 1st of March 1781, this journey commenced, with the melancholy prospect of never revisiting those companions from whom the chance of war had separated me.

As soon as I was out of the fort of Arcot, I discovered three palanquins, containing British officers in the same predicament with myself, and I soon learnt that they were Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer, who had recovered from their wounds. Mr. Skardon's prison had, indeed, been contiguous to mine; we had often conversed over the low wall which divided our cells, and this gentleman had assisted me both with money and clothes, but he was as ignorant as myself of the situation of the above officers. Lieutenant Brumpton and Mr. M'Neal

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were also among the prisoners carried to the capital of Mysore.

We proceeded to Arnee the first day, and the second to a fort at the foot of the hills, or gauts. On this march we were exceedingly hurried, and frequently struck to hasten our steps, the cause of which, as I understood from one of the prisoners, was our near approach, in the course of the day, to the fort of Vellore, from whence almost any party, which had sallied, might have rescued us, as our convoy only consisted of about thirty sepoy and fifty polygars. But they had, unfortunately, no intimation of our proximity at the garrison, nor had we any thing which could corrupt the fidelity of our convoy.

It took us five days to traverse the passes, and four days more to reach Osfore; we passed an astonishing number of small mud forts on the road, and got to Seringapatam on the eighteenth of the month. They allowed us to halt one day in the pettah of Bangalore, round the wall of which they were digging a trench at the time, and adding a ditch to the west face of the fort.

On our arrival at Seringapatam, Mr. Skardon was sent to the officers prison, but Lieutenant Brumpton and Mr. McNeal were lodged with us. The former of these two had once escaped from Hyder, and nearly reached Cuddelore before he was retaken; this might probably be his reason for confining him amongst the soldiers, and treating him with more severity than the rest of the officers. Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer, were confined by themselves. About three hundred Europeans, mostly taken near Tacoallum, were all shut up in one prison, consisting of a very spacious square, with a shade

or verandah along the wall, not unlike a caravanfary. Numbers were, at the time of my arrival, afflicted with epidemical distempers, but neither care nor assistance were bestowed on them; a kind of dropfical swelling, in particular, killed many. The small-pox, so fatal in the east, had found entrance into the prison, and swept away almost all the prisoners who had not had the disorder. I ascribe the preservation of my life to a singular contrivance; having made a small ball of wax as hard as I could, I applied it to my leg, and tied one of my coat buttons so tight over it, that the ball forced a hole through the skin into the leg, in which situation I suffered it to remain for several months, preserving a kind of constant issue.

Shortly after my arrival amongst the prisoners, I was accosted by Sergeant Dempster, who had deserted, as I have mentioned, at the mount, but was now confined in the common prison. He questioned me concerning my coming to Serin-gapatam, but on discovering my aversion to his discourse, and that I had been taken prisoner, he put an end to the conversation, by presenting me with some *hoppers* *, and seemed somewhat ashamed at meeting a person who had belonged to the same corps with himself. He was universally detested by the prisoners, being a deserter, and also suspected of sometimes betraying his countrymen to the tyranny of the power which held them in captivity. He received good treatment and some marks of attention at first, but irregularity and misconduct had forced Hyder to de-

* A kind of cake made of rice flour.

grade him almost immediately; he still received several indulgences, and was well disposed to be useful to the tyrant, though his behaviour was too inconsistent to entitle him to confidence.

I remained nine months in this prison, constantly loaded with irons, and allowed only one seer of rice and a pice per day, during which time, as the wish of delivering ourselves from so intolerable a captivity chiefly occupied our thoughts, Lieutenant Brumpton, Mr. M'Neal, three others, and myself, formed a plan for escaping. We had already prepared rice-cakes, as provisions for the journey, and procured ropes for scaling the wall, when the very evening preceding our proposed departure, a heavy shower of rain fell and washed away that identical part of the prison wall which had been fixed upon for the escalade. A strong guard was in consequence immediately planted on the spot. The rain not only disconcerted our plan, but also it discovered what a perilous task we had engaged in; for when the wall was down, I perceived sufficient unknown obstacles to convince me how little probability there was of having succeeded.

In the month of September 1781, about six months after my imprisonment, the nyar, a bramin, and the commander of our guards, entered the prison early in the morning, and selected Sergeant Dempster, with fifteen more of the prisoners, among whom were two young boys, drummers of the seventy-third regiment; struck off their irons, and without deigning to utter a word, carried them away, for the purpose, as I soon after understood, of circumcising them. They resisted a long while, before they submitted to this

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operation, nor did they submit at last, until they were stupified with *majum**, which they had been forced to swallow.

This incident spread general terror amongst the rest of the prisoners, every one apprehending that he might be the next victim devoted to Mahometism; nor were our fears groundless, for early in January 1782, the same persons re-entered our prison, accompanied by Sergeant Dempster, and made a second selection of fourteen, in which number I had the misfortune to be included. As Dempster was suspected of a share in this horrid business, at least so far as pointing out the objects on whom the choice ought to fall; every one of us was highly exasperated against him, and it was fortunate for him that he was protected by the guards. The treatment the first victims had undergone, served in some degree to apprise us of the inutility of resistance. With horror and indignation we swallowed the narcotic potion, and those, whom the dose had no effect upon, were forcibly seized and pinioned by stout coffres, whilst the operation was performed, having previously shaved us in the customary manner, a ceremony which they continued to observe for three years. After the operation, our right ears were perforated, and small silver rings, with round knobs, fixed in them, a mark of slavery amongst the Mahometans. As soon as we had recovered from this diabolical ceremony, we were transferred to what is termed the tyrant's chaylah battalions, that is, slaves; these are composed of such of his own subjects as have been condemned to perpetual slavery, and such unfortunate captives

* A strong opiate.

as he takes in war. The task imposed upon us, was to instruct these chaylahs in the manual exercise; and those who refused to perform this service were cruelly flogged,

After we had been made what was termed Musselmen, we neglected no opportunity of evincing our contempt for the religion of our tormentors, and the cruel force they had employed against us; though it no doubt exasperated our tyrants the more.

In the month of March, this year, one of the lately disciplined chaylah battalions, which Hyder had ordered to join a body of troops destined for particular service, encamped at Periapatam, a rock about twenty coss to the south-west of Seringapatam, and visible from the fort. This battalion was accompanied by twelve of the circumcised Europeans, acting as officers over slaves, and probably intended by way of experiment. They had been, however, but a very short time detached, before four of the Europeans found means to make their escape, by eluding the sentries at night, and immediately entering the Nyar Jungles, which lie to the southward of Seringapatam, and from whence, after encountering innumerable dangers, and suffering incredible hardships, they arrived safe at Bedanore, commanded by General Matthews.

This escape, however, proved very fatal to the remaining eight, for no sooner was the flight of their friends discovered, than they were marked as victims of revenge. They were accordingly brought out in front of that battalion, to which, a few hours before, they had acted as officers, with their hands tied behind, and received three lashes, with a bunch of tamarind twigs, from each of

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the chaylahs, which, from the number composing the battalion, amounted to fifteen hundred lashes. Thus were innocent men punished, to assuage the cruel resentment of disappointed villains, incensed because four Europeans had eluded their vigilance, and because they discovered that no assistance was to be derived from the English captives, nor any trust to be placed in men who possessed a right to liberate themselves by every opportunity that offered. After suffering this severe flagellation, their hands were secured in a log of wood, with holes in it, something like stocks, and in that situation they were sent to Munclamore, where they were confined six months, on one seer of *raggy* * per day, sent back to Seringapatam, and then with orders from Hyder, to suffer none of the prisoners, on any account whatever, to be trusted with detachments in future, but to guard them closely and confine them to the exercise of the chaylahs, in garrison.

Whilst the above prisoners suffered for the escape of four of their friends, the whole of the officers and men of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, in the Tanjore country, arrived in captivity, and spread a gloom of despondence through the several prisons. Every fresh victory gained by the tyrant naturally shifted the prospect of our deliverance to a greater distance, augmented the number of miserable objects on whom his daily cruelty was wrecked, and rendered him more insensible in proportion as he imagined himself rising in power. This detachment surrendered on the 18th of the preceding February, and consisted of about two thousand effective men.

* A small grain eaten by the natives, not unlike mustard seeds.

The number of chaylahs that were confined in the fort together, without sufficient room to breathe in, and totally disregarded and surrounded by filth, which was never removed, created at last epidemical diseases, which were fatal to great numbers. The unfortunate Europeans had, in this case, no better chance than the wretches with whom they were intermixed in one common prison. It was not until the contagion had raged a considerable time with unabated fury, and effected great destruction, that they removed us to another prison on the island, where we had a little more room to move in, and enjoyed a purer air than the infected and putrid vapours, which we were before subject to. As a farther help towards preventing infection, greater care was taken to clean the new prison, which consisted of a spacious square. The temporary comfort which this salutary change afforded, was however of short duration, for scarcely had our drooping spirits recovered from the terror of certain death, which stared us in the face, and our hopes in some degree revived from the diminution of restraint, before a fatal and injurious misrepresentation of our conduct plunged us into new troubles. It was reported, Heaven knows from what cause, that indulgence had rendered us lazy, and that we neglected the instruction and exercise of the chaylahs. It availed nothing that there was no foundation for such a report, no attention was paid to our remonstrances; the killadar sent for us into the fort, ordered the fetters from which we had been exempted, since the initiation into Mahometism, to be replaced, and the guards to drive us back with huge sticks, to our former prison on the island. After this,

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we were obliged to exercise the chaylahs in heavy irons during a whole month.

Lieutenants Speediman and Rutledge were brought to prison this year, in the month of July. The fate of these gentlemen was uncommonly hard, and the treatment they met with from the cruel conqueror, strangely barbarous, and wantonly different from the other officers. Having been left wounded at Vellore, in the beginning of the year, they remained in that garrison until the month of June, when an escort of one company of sepoy, three three-pounders, and a number of polygars arrived with supplies for the fort. Stimulated by military ardor, they had determined, being pretty well recovered of their wounds, to seize this opportunity of rejoining the army, to share in the active service of the campaign; but on the second day's march from Vellore, Tippoo with his army came down upon them. It was not until most of the company's sepoy were wounded, their ammunition nearly expended, and the polygars had deserted them, that this small detachment surrendered to Tippoo's whole force, by hoisting a white handkerchief for quarter, which was granted. They received tolerable good usage in Tippoo's camp, but met with quite the reverse from Hyder himself, who detained them five days, then mixed them with a parcel of Carnatic boys, and dispatched them to Seringapatam. On their arrival there, they were considerably surprised not to be confined in the prison with the other officers, but were almost rendered speechless, when the horrid design of circumcising them became evident. They were marched to the village of Gunjam Pet, and secured in a large square building, where they found nine

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Europeans that had already undergone this abominable operation; and in spite of resistance, they were obliged to submit to the same.

Some time after the arrival of these gentlemen, seven of those that had already been circumcised, amongst which number I was included; were carried again into the fort to discipline some hundreds of Carnatic boys, lately torn away from their native soil. I had not been many days in the fort before fifty seamen arrived from Bangalore, being a part of those given up to Hyder by Admiral Suffrein at Cuddalore in June. These were all chosen young men, picked out from about three hundred that the admiral gave up, and destined for Hyder's army. Messrs. Wilson, Edimon, Austin, Whiteway, Drake, Cardman, and Lesage, midshipmen, were of the number. The youngest and handsomest of these unfortunate men, underwent a second selection at Seringapatam, and were lodged in the palace, as part of the tyrant's household, where they received tolerable good treatment, were instructed in the language of the east, and taught different arts and exercises, according to the stations they were intended to fill about his person, and whenever their tutor went abroad, they attended him. Some of these, after the peace, were intended for dancing boys, and sent among the Nutch people to be instructed in the manœuvres belonging to that art. Mr. Cardman was one of those to whom the latter choice had fallen, but on account of what they thought refractory behaviour, he was returned to the chaylahs, and was of the party who made their escape with me, and has since, as I am very happy to hear, got safe to Madras. Messrs. Wilson, Ediman, Austin, and Whiteway,

lost their lives in the tyrant's dominions some years ago. These unfortunate and basely sacrificed seamen had all been circumcised, and were considered as the unquestionable property of Hyder, which no treaty should induce him to give up, having received them from an ally and friend, whose business it would be to answer for them, should they ever become the subject of an enquiry. It was the opinion of the wretched sufferers that Suffrein had sold them to the tyrant, in defiance of the rules of war, and the laws of humanity. Thirty of them were fortunate enough to escape from Arnee, immediately after the surrender, without even being missed; and many more, no doubt, would have got off the same way, as they had found means, when they were mustered, to deceive, by counting twice, for those missing in the evening, a trick that could not easily be discovered, as long as their faces were not perfectly known; but some that were retaken by Hyder's people, roused the suspicion of the guards. Two, however, contrived to get away after this, but one of them still returned the next day, having missed his road, and brought the account of his companion's death, who was drowned in attempting to pass a river.

Three days after the arrival of these Europeans, eight hundred more Carnatic inhabitants were brought into captivity.

In the month of November this year, namely 1782, the universally esteemed and beloved Colonel Baillie, fell a victim to long illness, and fatigues of mind as well as body, and died in the prison of Seringapatam. It was the prevalent report among the prisoners, that he fell by poison, but from what I have been able to collect, then,

as well as since, I have no right to believe that his demise was actually brought on by mortal drugs, though the inhuman conqueror certainly was accessory to it, by expressly withholding medical aid from him, during his painful disease, notwithstanding repeated applications for that purpose, and treating him, from the commencement of his captivity, with excessive severity. It cannot, therefore, be doubted, that he rejoiced in the decease of so able and distinguished an officer, and that he, perhaps, secretly hoped his villainous artifice would answer the same purpose as open violence, though nothing but surmises can be offered for the conduct that would have been pursued, had this scheme miscarried, particularly as Colonel Braithwaite was suffered to escape.

Towards the end of the year, the tidings of Hyder's demise reached Seringapatam. This happened but a very few days after the death of the unfortunate colonel, so that if he died by his order, the barbarian did not himself survive the base murder. The end of this turbulent and ambitious tyrant, gave birth to various speculations and expectations, but was attended with none of those commotions commonly produced by the demise of an eastern monarch. His son, Tippoo Saheb, since called Tippoo Sultan, took undisturbed possession of all his father's territories, and the command of vast armies, at a time when many disaffected individuals filled both the camp and city. This must be esteemed no contemptible proof of his abilities as a politician, as well as a soldier; such authority, at least, did his known character carry with it, that no open attempts

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were made to oppose his accession, or divide and circumscribe his power.

The customary mournings were observed at Seringapatam; but the people seemed not to regret the loss of their ruler. His remains were not brought to the capital till three months after his death, and interred in the part of the island which is called the Lollbaug Garden. The usual obsequies of eastern monarchs were posusely bestowed on this occasion, and consisted chiefly in charities to the indigent, and magnificent erections to the deceased.

One of Tippoo's first steps towards securing and strengthening his government, was to place a new killadar in Seringapatam. He brought with him a battalion of sepoy, to enforce his authority, and to remove any impediments which he might encounter in possessing himself of his office. The Europeans had every cause imaginable to be afflicted at this change, for the new killadar, Syud Mahomet Khan, turned out the greatest scourge we had yet met with, neglecting no opportunity to satiate the bent of his inclination, which delighted in cruelty. The old killadar, (by name Siddeboy) who often had shewn us mercy, when it depended upon him, and he could do it with safety, was shortly after imprisoned in irons, and remained so for a considerable time, probably to render him incapable of being dangerous, as his brother Hyder Saheb had betrayed Bedanore, and gone over to General Matthews, shortly after Hyder's death.

The hopes, which had been indulged, when the death of Hyder became public, founded on the expectation of a favourable change in our affairs, through the mildness of Tippoo's temper,

who had hitherto borne a character for humanity, and on the probability of his being unable to prosecute the war after an event, productive in general of great revolutions in this country, quickly vanished; and it was soon discovered, that if Tippoo did not surpass, he at least equalled his father, in aversion and hatred to the Europeans; that his character had not hitherto appeared in a true light, but that now, when he found it no longer necessary to dissemble or conciliate the affections of his father's subjects, he threw aside the mask, and shewed himself in his genuine colours; it was also found that he could, and actually did, carry on the war with unabated vigour.

The deplorable loss of Nagram, or Bedanore, was one of the heavy disasters which signalized the beginning of the year 1783. Early in the month of May, the whole of Tippoo's capital rang with shouts and rejoicings in consequence of this re-capture; sugar and sweetmeats were carried about the town in baskets, and distributed to the inhabitants under the discharge of cannon. I do not recollect the spirits of the prisoners to be so much depressed, at any one time, during the whole of my captivity, as on this mournful occasion. The loss of Bedanore had vexed Tippoo exceedingly, nor was he chagrined without very good cause, as his capital had been exposed, during the absence of his armies, from the rapid progress of General Matthews, who assuredly would have penetrated to the very gates of Seringapatam, had he been informed of the true state of affairs; where not only the European prisoners, but the captive natives, and afterwards appeared, a formidable conspiracy,

would

would have been ready to forward his enterprise, and no force to oppose him. By the capture of General Matthews and his army in a most inglorious manner, the tyrant was delivered from every future apprehension, and enabled to exact more imperious terms, should a peace be proposed. In short, the disastrous consequences of this loss, to a part of which we had the mortification of being eye-witnesses, presented themselves in such disheartening colours, and dejected us so much, that a long time elapsed before we recovered any tolerable degree of composure. To add acuteness to our distress, we were desired, or rather compelled, to partake of the sweetmeats prepared for the rejoicings; and our positive refusal was construed into a stubbornness which deserved correction; accordingly our evil genius, the base and dark-minded killadar, determined to make us feel the effects of his displeasure. He ordered us in future into the ranks with the chaylahs, prohibited every species of intercourse and communication with each other, even that of conversing together in public, and consigned us to the charge of sentries, who confined us in a square building the whole day, without any food. Terrified at this extraordinary, unprovoked, and sudden change of treatment, and very sensible that passive submission only would serve to render our enemies more oppressive and inexorable, we resolved, towards the evening, to be informed of our destiny. Having forced the sentries placed over us, we proceeded in a body to the killadar's quarters, and remonstrated, in the most submissive terms, against the cruelty of starving and tormenting us, without any real cause. He took not the smallest notice, however, of our complaint, but ordered a party

party of sepoy's to surround us, and tie us with ropes; after which he ordered us, one by one, to be scourged in his presence, until his savage disposition was glutted with the groans extorted from us. Ensign Clark, who had stood our speaker on this occasion, being well versed in the Hindostany, or Moor language, was first on the list, and most inhumanly flogged; a few only escaped, by the unmerciful barbarian's, growing tired of the sport. We were kept the whole of this night and the succeeding day, in the open air, bound and exposed to the burning sun. On the second evening, some victuals were distributed amongst us, when we were dispersed in different places amongst the slaves, and treated with uncommon rigour for a long time afterwards.

A singular species of cruelty, that had no other object in view than wanton malice, and the barbarous delight our villains constantly took in tormenting and insulting the English prisoners, occurred about this time. Four European women, with their husbands, belonging to the Bedanore garrison, were brought to Seringapatam, where they were torn from the men, whom the villains sent to Chittledroog, and afterwards allotted the women to four of the black slaves. Two became the property of the natives of Mysore, and the other two became the property of a couple of abominable Abyssinians, with whom they were compelled to live. I saw these women myself, they were good-looking females, but pity was all the assistance I was able to afford them.

A conspiracy against the usurper was discovered in the month of August this year, and must have alarmed him considerably, as it evidently testified the dispositions of some, if not of all his subjects

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subjects. The project was planned, I understood, with much precaution and judgment, and it was intended that the European prisoners should be admitted to a share in the enterprise, which had nothing less in view than to restore the reins of government to the ancient race of Mysore, and emancipate the present king from the shackles of the regency. One of the conspirators betrayed the plot, on the very eve of its execution, by which he saved himself, and brought his associates to the most excruciating tortures, and the most dreadful ends. It was a matter of much astonishment, that the prisoners all escaped suspicion on this occasion, though it must certainly have been their presence which encouraged the project; nor is it to be credited, that none of them were in the secret.

The peace which actually took place, began to be rumoured towards the end of this year; but we had heard such frequent and various reports of this nature, all of which had proved to be groundless conjecture, or simple inventions, that the comforts which these reports had yielded at first, had worn away, and we listened to the news of peace with the same distrust that we used to attend to the violated promises which from time to time were made to us by our tormentors.

The month of September this year 1793, was distinguished by the inhuman murder of General Matthews, who was certainly poisoned in a very barbarous manner, being starved until he had consented to eat of the food which he had discovered contained poison. He refused for several days to taste nourishment, but hunger surmounted at last the desire of protracting a miserable existence, and he swallowed a plentiful portion of the victuals

tuals prepared for him, and in a few hours after expired in violent convulsions. I am the better enabled to assert this fact, having since conversed with the general's two European servants, who, after being kept long in suspense, were suffered to live, and confirmed the fact. The circumstances, however, which led to this melancholy catastrophe, are involved in darkness and uncertainty.

In the month of December following, all the circumcised Europeans in Seringapatam were removed to Mysore, the ancient capital of the kingdom, but at that time an insignificant little fort, about seven miles to the southward of Seringapatam, which Tippoo has since demolished, and erected a new and stronger one a little to the eastward of the former, called Sultan Killah. On our arrival here, we were closely confined, and in the very room where Captain Rumley and Lieutenants Frazer and Sampson; whose deaths had already been whispered about the city, were murdered, shortly before, by the order of Tippoo.

When we discovered ourselves to be not only in the same danger, but guarded by the very same assassins who had imbrued their hands in the blood of these gentlemen, we could no longer suppress our terrors. It now recurred to us what had often been asserted, that Tippoo never would suffer any British captives to return, being determined to put all such to death who should survive his cruel treatment. The murder of General Matthews's officers, which had been circulated at Seringapatam, and was credited by us all, contributed to confirm this suspicion. In short, it appeared evident that our extirpation was resolved upon, on which account we unanimously determined

ained to annihilate as many of Tippoo's hired assassins as we could, until superior numbers could crush us. At this time, however, our alarms proved groundless, and Tippoo's real view in sending us hither, seemed to be nothing more than to keep us out of the way whilst peace was in agitation, that we might have no opportunity of making our situations known, and consequently be included in the number of those who at last escaped his tyranny.

After four months confinement at Mysore, we were marched back to Seringapatam. Tippoo had then returned to his capital, and peace with the English was concluded. Our numbers at this time amounted to eighty, being the survivors of such as from time to time had been dragged out of the Seringapatam prisons, and circumcised. The seamen, except those selected for the palace, are included in this list. I have since learnt, that every prison throughout the tyrant's dominions had, in like manner, been drained of the ill-fated Englishmen that were detained in captivity.

It is difficult for those, who never experienced similar calamities, to form any adequate or just conception of our despondence, in finding ourselves, when peace was restored, for ever secluded from our country and friends. The hopes of one day rejoining those to whom we might relate our adversities in safety, and enjoy the pleasing reflections of having surmounted sufferings incurred in the cause and service of our country, had hitherto supported us against every misfortune. A general restoration of prisoners had been the basis of the peace, but our rulers found themselves reduced to connive at the most flagrant infringement of this article.

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We were now posted to the different chaylah battalions in the capacity of havildars, and received seven rupees per month. Lieutenants Speedman and Rutledge were appointed subadars. Lieutenant Brunton, who came up to Seringapatam at the same time with myself, and Ensign Gordon, a gentleman who had been a long time confined at Chittledroog, were liberated.

When I was moved to Mysore, two Europeans, one named O'Bryan, from the same company of Bengal artillery to which I had belonged, the other a sergeant of the Madras establishment, were compelled to perform the office of common coolies, and to carry dirt in the streets of Seringapatam, because they had attempted to escape shortly after they were captured, and at that time killed or wounded one or two of the guards that surprised them. On my return, these two men existed no more; they had been assassinated by the sultan's order, together with a native girl and two children belonging to the sergeant.

Our confinement was still continued with its former rigour and circumspection; we were scarcely allowed, at first, to look out of our prison, and for near three years succeeding the peace, our slavery suffered little or no relaxation. We were not, in general, allowed to stir, even on the most pressing occasions, without a sentry to accompany us; nor should we at any time during that period have been permitted to walk about freely, if the officers who were intrusted with the charge of us, and responsible for our appearance, had not at times indulged us with some liberty, trusting, probably, to the impossibility of our escape.

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Our first excursion, after being reposed in the manner already mentioned to the chaylah battalions, was to a small fort called Chindrapattah, on the Bedanore road, about twenty miles westward of Seringapatam, where we remained inactive during six months, and were then remanded to Seringapatam. During our stay at Chindrapattah, Ensign Clark, who held no higher station than one of us, expired in consequence of a violent beating from one of the subadars, whose cruelty he had provoked by some retorting language. Mr. Ediman, the midshipman, likewise quitted his miserable existence at this place, of a natural death indeed, but very prematurely brought on.

When we returned to Seringapatam, we were transferred from the chaylahs to the Malabar Roman Catholic Christians, consisting originally of about forty thousand unfortunate wretches, men, women, and children, forced away from the Bedanore and Mangalore countries in 1784, and compelled to embrace Mahometism, not, however, without exhibiting several martyrs in support of a doctrine with which they had no farther acquaintance than what consisted in counting a row of beads, and performing genuflections before a crucified image. The corps, or battalion of these wretches, to which I had been posted, was soon afterwards sent to Mysore, where it remained five months, and then returned. These marches had nothing in view but to keep the unfortunate enslaved soldiers in employ, and to break any combinations which might have been formed.

The English peace, concluded in 1784, no sooner left Tippoo at liberty, than his turbulent spirit presented, as a convenient object for his rap-

pacious ambition, the territories of Mouberjung, lying about twenty days journey to the northward of Seringapatam, and tributary to the nizam. Tippoo accordingly marched with an army, computed to be one hundred thousand strong, against Mouberjung's capital, called after the country Hydona, to which he laid siege, after having subjected the frontiers, through which he spread terror and devastation. The nizam sent a body of cavalry to the assistance of Mouberjung, which induced Tippoo to abandon the siege. Tippoo had carried along with him four of the Malabar Christian battalions on this occasion, to which thirty of the captive Europeans were attached.

As it was difficult, in an enemy's country, to guard men who had both courage and cunning sufficient to attempt a flight, five of the employed Europeans found means to elude all the circumspection and vigilance of their observers, and fled to Mouberjung. One of General Matthew's servants was amongst these deserters. The sultan determined immediately to send the remainder back loaded with chains, and under a very strict confinement, and pursuant to his constant practice of wreaking his vengeance on the whole of us, these men no sooner arrived at Seringapatam than we shared their fate. Amongst many other severe punishments which we underwent on this occasion, without having been admitted to a chance of sharing in the transgression of those for whom we suffered, was that of reducing our late allowance to barely one seer of very bad rice daily, great part of which we were obliged to dispose of solely to procure fire-wood and salt for the rest.

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thing less than to be either massacred on the spot, or distributed among those hill forts, from which no unfortunate exile was ever known to return, our terror received additional force from the escape of two of our companions, who found means to pass the sentries in the night, and escaped, notwithstanding the vigilance of their guards. The greatest difficulty, it must be observed, consisted in getting out of prison, for the inhabitants of Seringapatam had for many years been so familiarized to the sight of Europeans in the streets, that little obstruction was to be apprehended from the people, many of them being our well-wishers. Our confinement became after this infinitely more strict, and almost insupportably oppressive. The very guards dreaded the charge of us, being punished severely for every one that escaped, and were consequently instigated by fear as much as inclination to treat us harshly. In ten days, however, one of the fugitives being brought back to Seringapatam, our situations were made less irksome. Both had been retaken near Tellicherry, but one had availed himself of the opportunity, when he was drinking water out of the river, to knock down the sentinel that accompanied him, and then plunged into it and swam away. The unfortunate fellow that was brought back, paid for the natural privilege of having made use of his legs, with his nose and ears, after which he was led round the fort on a jack-ass, with his face to the tail, and condemned to labour among the native smiths, who obliged him to blow the bellows for them. No account was ever received of the other. Two of those Europeans, whom Tippoo employed as armourers, also attempted to escape at this time by swimming over the Cole-

roon; but it happened unfortunately that a guard was placed on the very spot where they gained the land, by which their design was discovered. One of these men had formerly been a midshipman, and died at Seringapatam in August 1790.

In this dreadful state of suspense we remained during five months, when Tippoo returned from the invasion of Hydora. He had possessed himself on that expedition, besides plunder, of a country extending about fifty or sixty coss beyond Copaul, and almost as far as the Kistna. It was said, that Tippoo alleged the nizam's refusal of his daughter, and Moubertjung of his sister, for his son, as a pretext for the war. The proposal had been rejected with contempt, the young Mysorean being of too mean an origin to aspire at mixing his blood with that which flowed in veins of such high descent.

Soon after the tyrant's return, we were divided into three parties, and dispersed; one was sent to Bedanore, another to Chittledroog, and the third, to which I belonged, remained in the city. Those that went away were in irons; we that were reserved were at first posted to a battalion of Coorikies, a people lying in the woods, whom Tippoo had enslaved; but in consequence of the frequent complaints and unfavourable representations which our black officers made of our conduct, we were subdivided anew into four parties, one of which remained with the Coorikies, another was posted to a battalion of Moplas, and the other two incorporated with the Malabar Christians. It was thought, not without some reason, that the fewer of us were together, the more tractable we should be. As we had often experienced the vanity of expecting any other

redress

redress for the ill usage and injuries of our commanders, than what we could procure for ourselves, so, whenever twelve or fifteen of us were together, and they grew too intolerable, we used to beat the whole battalion, guards and all, out of the square, and make terms before we ceased hostilities. I have frequently known these effects of mere despair take place, and the officers, ashamed of their own pusillanimity, would not make these little mutinies known, but they took care, in general, to be even with us, and charged us with some other offence, of which we had never perhaps thought.

Our allowance, which since the peace had been seven rupees per month, unless when in disgrace, was at this time reduced to six rupees in forty-five days, which is the term of Tippoo's military month, according to which he pays his troops; this paltry stipend was, however, irregularly paid, and never at a shorter period than fifty days, frequently a longer period, which was a small addition to the month of the paymaster's contrivance, as it reduced us to extreme distress at times, and the necessity of borrowing the money from him, which was actually due to us: this scheme was so much to his liking, that he frequently kept us in long arrears, on pretence of being without money, in order to oblige us to have recourse to his aid, which he afforded in consideration of a deduction of one-half in advancing what it was his duty to have paid long before.

In consequence of what has been said, we found ourselves so much distressed at one time for the most indispensable necessities of life, that our party ventured on a step, for the sake of procuring temporary relief, which exposed the whole

to the imminent danger of a most ignominious death. It was suggested to some one of the ingenious and bold prisoners, at the time of the Moherrum, to steal out of prison in the night, and when riot and intoxication had lulled the pious Musselmén to rest, to rob the temples of the little silver hands which are offered during the festival by the munificent bigots, and then to re-enter the prison in the same clandestine manner. We were all privy to this daring enterprise, and were all to share equal in the benefit of its success; great precaution was therefore taken to avoid discovery, and to assist the resolute undertaker in effecting his purpose unobserved. I confess that I was not less rejoiced than astonished at his good fortune, when I saw him return before day, not only undiscovered, but furnished with a dozen of the silver relics which he had safely purloined. We melted down the silver with all imaginable secrecy, and sold it some time afterwards, which afforded a very seasonable relief. We had, however, never afterwards, even when less vigilantly watched, an opportunity of repeating this theft, the success of which I never sufficiently could admire, as mere despair had inspired the attempt.

In the year 1788, six of Tippoo's chiefs and a bramin were hanged at Seringapatam, for being suspected of carrying on a treacherous correspondence with the English. A letter to Lieutenant Rutledge had been found on the bramin, and interpreted by Sergeant Dempster, who has since informed me that it was simply a letter from the gentleman's mother, or some other relation, which the bramin, who came from the Carnatic, had engaged to deliver, but that it was accompanied

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by a short note from one of Lieutenant Rutledge's friends, lamenting that he was no longer able, from want of opportunities, to write to him as formerly. This note produced all the mischief, for it betrayed a prior correspondence, which was sufficient to rouse distrust and suspicion in the jealous mind of Tippoo. Lieutenant Rutledge was, in consequence of this discovery, loaded with fetters, and sent to Nundidroog, a high and scarped rock, where he was confined on the very summit, under a little chopper or shed, raised for the purpose, and only allowed about the space of ten yards to move in, with three quarters of a peck of raggy and a few chillies to subsist on. In this dreadful situation he spun out a miserable existence nearly two years, when he was shot on the rock, for contriving to transmit a written request to borrow four fanams of the prisoners at Seringapatam. This unfortunate gentleman has left a son behind him in Tippoo's dominions. I learnt the particulars of Lieutenant Rutledge's death from a farrier, who had been confined on the same rock, but removed to Seringapatam in consequence of the indisposition of one of Tippoo's favourite Arabian horses, and is the only person, I have been informed, that was ever known to return from any of these forts. He declared, that he had been hoisted up to the top blind-folded, that there is but one narrow path down, which he perceived completely lined with sentries, and that a fort guarded the ascent some distance below the summit. No person, he added, except their guards, could, or were allowed to approach the prisoners. We were, as usual, all of us involved in Lieutenant Rutledge's disaster, on the discovery of the letter, and punished with close

close confinement and the loss of our allowance for two months, during which time we lived on charity, and learnt to subsist several days without food.

An European, named White, having escaped from Bangalore the first year after the peace, for the second time, seven other European prisoners, also confined at that place, were, on account of this circumstance, put in irons and sent to Sunderdroog, a fort to the north-east of Seringapatam, and about twenty miles to the westward of Bangalore. These unfortunate men continued under a very severe arrest on one seer of raggy and half a pice per day for themselves and families, women and children that were taken with them, until the year 1789, when, after suffering during four years all the rigour of slavery, fetters, and hunger, they were finally dragged into the woods and hanged. Their women were afterwards brought to Seringapatam, and related the deplorable catastrophe of their masters.

I was never able to discover when or in what manner the above-mentioned White got into Tippoo's service, but he was there when the war began, and though a Briton, he strained every nerve to injure and distress the English captives. Through his treachery it was discovered, that the captive officers had contrived to carry on some contraband transactions, which subjected them to examinations and restraints they never could account for, and might have endangered their existence, had any discoveries been made, as the tyrant wanted very little pretext for murdering men who were obnoxious to him. He originally persuaded Tippoo to retain such of the prisoners as were mechanics, and pointed out those whom

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he judged fit objects for his purpose. Many, therefore, are indebted to him and his diabolical exertions for the perpetual loss of liberty, and finally of their lives. Tippoo was latterly much prejudiced against this man, and would certainly, in some degree, have bestowed on him the fate he deserved, by hanging him, had he not saved himself by flight, for he had played his patron several provoking tricks, particularly pretending skill in casting cannon; for when Tippoo had expended a great deal of money on a foundry and the necessary requisites, he manifested his ignorance in spoiling all the metal: I am happy to find this miscreant is now a prisoner at Madras. The vexations resulting from White's stupidity were amply compensated, however, shortly after, by the arrival of thirty artists from France, sent out by the court of Versailles with a view to instruct Tippoo's subjects in manufactures, and aiding this Asiatic ally of France with mechanical knowledge, which as yet has made slow progress in his own dominions, as well as every other part of India. They were, no doubt, an earnest of the stipulated support and assistance in the projected war with us, of which he has since been so justly disappointed.

In the beginning of 1789, six men, whom we had not heard of before, were brought from Chittledroog to Seringapatam; this sufficiently convinces, that many more Europeans than what are suspected are concealed in Tippoo's dominions. These men were, soon after their arrival, carried out of the fort in irons into a wood near the island, where they were hanged. They had belonged to the Bedanore garrison which capitulated:

lated: what induced the barbarous conqueror to murder these men in cold blood I never was able to discover.

Soon after Tippoo again collected his forces, amounting, if report may be credited, to above one hundred thousand, and marched down the Gauts as soon as the army was equipped, without divulging his intentions.

We heard nothing of this new expedition, or Tippoo's movements, for a considerable time; when, at last, orders were received at the capital to prepare for the nuptials of his son, a stout boy about seventeen years of age, who was now to espouse the daughter of the queen of Cannanore, since the nizam had disdainfully rejected him for a son-in-law; orders were also received at the same time to arrange matters preparatory to the father's inauguration, as "Sultaun of the East," the title which he in future intended to assume, and in which quality he meditated nothing less than the subjection of all India. He likewise issued a proclamation, prohibiting all marriages in the kingdom of Myfore until such time as the wedding of his son should take place, being determined to celebrate that day by the consummation of twenty-five thousand marriages at his own charge. To be ignorant of every other feature in the character of this extraordinary man, and to be informed of this circumstance alone, would certainly inspire a high opinion of his munificence, liberality, and philanthropy; but the moment we are told that he tarnished all the glory which accompanied such a splendid act, by a piece of contemptible, fanatical, and tyrannical despotism, compelling one hundred thousand of

his defenceless Hindoo subjects to embrace Mahometism on the same day, our admiration changes into merited detestation.

It is his constant and favourite practice to insult and persecute the Hindoos on the score of religion: he has demolished many of their temples and sanctified places of worship, particularly a much-revered pagoda near the bazar of Seringapatam, where he found, it is asserted, one hundred and fifty thousand coined pagodas, buried under the stone out of which the oval was hewn. He frequently orders calves to be brought before the doors of their temples, and sheds the sacred blood under the very nose of the offended deity. Such as are acquainted with the enthusiastic attachment of the Hindoos to their ancient religion and its rites, and their veneration for both, will guess at the extreme horror with which such frightful sacrileges must fill them, and will easily be persuaded that Tippoo is detested by the majority of his subjects, and will only ascribe their patience and submission to the known indolence and abject tameness of the Indians, who are awed by the vast armies he has hitherto contrived to maintain, and the known severity with which he ever punishes the bare appearance of defection.

His orders for the solemnization of the marriage created a general bustle and tumult throughout the city; every individual that could perform any thing curious or clever was employed, not only on their new sultan's account, but all such proposed displaying their adulation, and court their sovereign by magnificent presents on the occasion, and such also as hoped, by a disguised scribe, to insinuate themselves into favour, and pave the road to future preferment.

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The palace of old Hyder was demolished, and in the rear of it was begun a more extensive and magnificent one of a triangular form, and from the summit of a famous pagoda in the centre of the fort; this the proud Mysorean proposed to be inaugurated. Having been presented by the court of France with four large and curious crystal pedestals, these were to support his throne. This royal seat was to be superbly decorated, and built by Europeans; but neither the palace nor the throne were finished when I left Seringapatam. The present war seems to have retarded these designs, and the intelligence of Tippoo's repulse at the Travancore lines put a total stop to the immense preparations which for a time had engrossed the whole attention of the capital; the wall that surrounded the area of the new palace was alone suffered to be finished; it is one mile in circumference with a large gate on each side, the principal and grandest of which faces the above-mentioned pagoda. So sensible and convinced was Tippoo of the decisive consequences of a war rashly undertaken with respect to himself and his ambitious projects, that he no sooner discovered the expected and stipulated aids from France would fail, and the exertions of his enemies so much exceed what he had believed, than he seriously repented his wanton breach of treaty, not from principles of good faith or justice, but from apprehension of the effects to his own interest.

The loss of his great seal, turban, and palanquin, captured in the before-mentioned repulse together with several valuable jewels, and the narrow escape of his own person, had a very heartening tendency upon his creatures in the capital, and gave rise to very ignominious insinuations.

retations from the discontented. It was allowed, that he would certainly have fallen into his enemies hands, if a mean disguise had not protected him; the very bearers of his palanquin were cut down some moments after he had deserted it; he was attempting to surprise a defended place at some distance from the Travancore lines, when this unexpected fall was made, and had nearly put a period to his career.

Tippoo having thought proper to substitute another inscription on his new signet, this circumstance gave fresh alarms at Seringapatam, and many took it for granted, that the tyrant had been either killed or dethroned, and the supreme authority assumed by some other person; but the general anxiety dissipated, when a new state palanquin was dispatched with great pomp, to be his sumptuous and future vehicle.

When he had carried the long-disputed point against Travancore, which took up about twice the time he had conjectured, he returned to his capital, and was received with all the splendor of a conqueror; triumphal arches filled the streets through which he passed, and the decorations which had been originally destined to grace the nuptials of his son, were displayed on this occasion. On his arrival, he proceeded directly to his father's tomb, where he spent the whole day in solemn prayers. He entered the fort at night through a road brilliantly illuminated.

On his return from this expedition, he brought a number of different sorts of guns, and a large quantity of sheet copper, of which he had stripped the domes of the Roman Catholic churches on the Malabar coast; with likewise three thousand of the captured Travancorians and the families

milies of about three hundred of the Cochin people, whom he had been cruel enough to seize, and after tying them in pairs, drove them into the sea.

Tippoo now thought very seriously about new-modelling and mustering his troops. He artfully put such men together as were most likely never to join in any general disaffection, from mutual aversion and distrust of each other; by which means all his corps were composed of different casts, nations, and religions, that bore a natural antipathy, and sometimes an avowed enmity to each other: this might, indeed, in some measure, remedy one evil, but sowed the seeds of another, that of disunion in their efforts, when it might be highly necessary that their joint exertions should combine in the accomplishment of the same object. He augmented his chaylah battalions from eight to thirty, observing the same mode with respect to embodying them, as with the regulars.

The artillery did not escape his notice; his arsenal was well supplied with warlike stores, and every preparation in his power was made for war; the English prisoners were ordered into the fort again, and their capturer, at one of the reviews, observing among the chaylahs some prisoners that were shaved, he remarked to one of his courtiers, "These men, I see, have discovered a new bible and creed at last," meaning the Koran and Mohammedan doctrine. When he had inspected every thing in person, carried reform into every department, and provided against deficiencies and abuses, he at last issued orders for a second campaign, and took the field.

It was originally said that he meant to go to the northward; but the intelligence of general Meadows's approach to the Gauts, and the capture of Coimbatore, an event totally unexpected, produced a change in his determination. He immediately crossed the Cavery, and fixed his camp to the southward of Seringapatam. It was not, however, until they received the intelligence from a European taken prisoner at Caroor, where he had been straggling whilst intoxicated, and brought to Seringapatam, that the European prisoners heard for certain of war having actually broke out betwixt Tippoo and the English.

Before he took the field a second time, he ordered three Europeans, and a number of native prisoners, who had been in his father's and his own possession a considerable time, among whom were several native officers, a nayar rajah, and a commandant on the Bombay establishment taken at Bedanore, to be sent to Nundidroog and other hill forts, where I conjecture they have since been murdered, as that is the usual fate of all those who are doomed to these places. The farrier, already mentioned, whose life had been spared in compliment to one of Tippoo's horses, was of the number. He also sent back from his camp an European corps in which he placed no confidence, commanded by one Maclean, who had been a servant in his majesty's service, but deserted from the garrison of Mangalore.

This corps consisted of nothing but vagabonds and deserters, chiefly Portuguese, French, Dutch, and Danes. It had been disarmed and disgraced during Tippoo's first absence, being suspected, and very justly, I believe, of having encouraged and promised aid to the different chaylah corps, who

intended to rebel during the absence of the army, and emancipate themselves; the accomplishment of which plan nothing could have prevented, had they not deliberated till it got vent, and measures were taken to counteract it. Tippoo, it is true, had re-armed Maclean's corps, but so humble was his opinion of their loyalty and bravery, that he judged it very unadvisable to oppose them to the troops of an European power; so that they still remained inactive at Seringapatam when I left it.

Tippoo is naturally of a suspicious temper, which the knowledge of his being unpopular increases. The Europeans are peculiarly, and without exception, the objects as well of his detestation as distrust; so much so, that I may safely assert, there is not at this moment, a single regiment in his service commanded by an European officer; nor did he ever suffer Lally's army to multiply sufficiently to be able to give him uneasiness.

It was in the beginning of September 1790 that Tippoo directed his steps towards the Gauts; but no sooner had he published his intention of facing General Meadows, before an universal discontent and fear, which manifested itself in loud murmurs, pervaded all ranks at Seringapatam, and it was reported that the army was not better satisfied. Those who remained in the city were far from reposing that confidence in his army, which the tyrant flattered himself they would, and could not divest themselves of the apprehension of an English siege, with the consequences of falling into the hands of an enemy that had such ample and just cause for vengeance. The army again dreaded an attack in descending the Gauts, which they already concluded were in General Meadows's

Meadows's

Meadows's possession, and consequently judged it impossible to escape a total defeat.

Tippoo received the first intelligence of Colonel Floyd's situation and strength by two European deserters from the grand army, and hastened to intercept him, in the full persuasion of commencing this war with a second Conjeveram business. That this depended much upon the crisis of that day cannot be denied, and that the bravery and exertions of the troops who resisted such superior force, is as meritorious as it was important, will never be disputed. The loss which Tippoo sustained in this attempt was industriously concealed, but it certainly was considerable, notwithstanding the exaggerated and discredited accounts which Tippoo transmitted of his boasted victory. The earliest intelligence of the engagement was accompanied by the remains of five of Tippoo's principal officers, who had fallen in the action.

Even the very favourable representation of the rencounter with Colonel Floyd could not entirely banish the terror of a blockade from the Mysorean capital. Tippoo's obstinate disposition was no secret to his subjects, and the horrors of a siege, together with the excesses a large army confined to the limits of the island would commit, presented themselves in the most lively colours to the citizens, and revived their alarms.

Tippoo had engaged Colonel Floyd with nearly the whole of his numerous and newly-recruited army; he had employed all his art and address to magnify the advantages of a very fruitless and inglorious attempt; but when he discovered that the real state of the affair was not to be disguised, though few were hardy enough boldly to avow the truth, he ungenerously resolved to avenge himself

himself on the unfortunate prisoners for his mis-carriage, and hoped by sacrificing them, to appease in some measure the friends of the slaughtered sirdars. Pursuant to this resolution, he ordered all the captives that were with the chay-lahs, besides six of the most refractory tradesmen, to be put in irons and conducted to the hills, preparatory, as was intimated to us by our guards, to our being offered up as victims to the manes of the deceased.

Two days before this removal took place, I had hid myself in one of the cavaliers of the fort, terrified at the idea of visiting the hill forts; but being much pinched by hunger, and reflecting that my absence might accelerate whatever mischief was destined for those companions with whom I had been a fellow-sufferer for so many years, I could not persuade myself to abandon or expose them to additional danger merely on my own account, I therefore delivered myself up on the day we marched, determined to meet whatever fate awaited me. Nothing but the remorse which I felt at entailing on the other captives the certain resentment of a barbarian, whose implacable disposition was well known, prevented me and many others, I believe, from trying with more eagerness than we had done to escape, hoping constantly that some fortunate moment, or unforeseen change, would one day or other effect the release of the whole of us at once; nor was it easy to resist the earnest prayers, entreaties, despondence, and sometimes even threats, of our wretched brethren in affliction, from whom it was difficult, and almost impracticable, to conceal any such design; to this, in a great measure, may be attributed the very few desertions that took

took place. Tippoo, without doubt, knew too well that nothing was more likely to secure his prisoners, than the anxiety they took for the safety of each other, a bond more binding than any fetters he could fix upon them.

In the year 1787, five men besides myself had actually resolved to trust our lives in a boat on the Coleroon, and let the current carry us where it would, though we had been informed, that a cataract on the route rendered this enterprize extremely hazardous; but we were certain it would carry us from Seringapatam, and nothing which could befall us afterwards appeared half so dreadful as remaining in slavery there. We had nearly constructed a basket-boat for our purpose, made of bamboos, and had secured leather to cover it with. An old uninhabited house served to hide our materials and machine in; the split bamboos were concealed under the thatched roof, so as not to be immediately discovered by any person looking accidentally into the house. The boat itself was buried in a large hole in the ground. Two of us used to steal away for an hour or two in the night, and work by turns whenever we found it practicable. It came, however to the knowledge of the rest, and alarmed them so much, that we yielded to their supplications, and abandoned the project, as it was impossible to build, or even to procure, boats to convey the whole of us at once.

The present capital of the kingdom of Mysore, from which I was now about to be removed, is situated on an island of the Cavery, called Seringapatam, about four miles in length and nearly two in breadth; it has two bridges thrown over the Cavery, one to the northward and the other in the opposite point; the former is defended by a strong battery

battery, mounting twenty-three guns, placed a very little to the eastward of the bridge, and a double battery mounting six guns in each row at the very foot of it; the latter is defended by a battery of seven iron twelve-pounders. There are also three fords in the river, the principal of which lies north-east of the island, within half a mile of the northern extremity; another opposite to the north-east corner of the fort, defended by thirteen guns, and planted on a cavalier, which stands five or six paces in the rear of the battery guarding the south bridge; and the third is near the centre of the island, more than a mile below the fort.

The fortress is a square, the south-east side of which is best defended, having three cavaliers mounting four guns each on the outer works, and two more of three guns each on the upper works, with three redoubts, of six or seven guns each, carried out on the glacis. The south-west side, on the contrary, is the weakest part of the fort, as the river is very shallow at that place, just opposite to the water-gate and a pagoda which is built in the river. The north is defended by three cavaliers, mounting four guns each, with six or seven flanking batteries, mounting each four nine-pounders. The twenty-three gun battery stands likewise on this side, and the south side is defended by three other cavaliers, mounting three six-pounders each, and seven more flanking batteries of three or four small guns each, besides fourteen guns over the great gate.

The fort has three principal gates, one north, the other south-east, and the third south, besides three water-gates, two to the northward, and one to the south-west, immediately opposite to the pagoda in the river. The north ditch runs out of

the river, and joins it again below the seven-gun battery to the north-east; there are two dry trenches to the south-east and the south; the river is very deep from the bridge as far as the pagoda.

Tippoo has a granary in the fort at the end of the king of Mysore's palace, which contains all sorts of grain produced in the country, consisting chiefly of rice and *raggy*, with *ghee**, oil, sugar, and spices of different kinds.

There are two gardens on the island full of large trees, one is surrounded by a mud wall, and called Dowlat Durgah, and the other is the burial place of the late Hyder Ally, and is called Loll-Baug: these, with two avenues leading from the fort to the latter, contain the only trees that are to be found in the whole island.

About three quarters of a mile from the south bridge, in the same direction, is a nullah, or branch of the Cavery, with a bridge thrown across it, which leads to Mysore, the ancient capital; the nullah rises out of the river about half a mile above the island, and runs in the same direction as the river, till it joins it again a little below the fort, encompassing a long slip of land, and forming a second island; a trench is carried quite across the island of Seringapatam, but from the north avenue to the river it is covered, all the rest is open, with only one bridge over it. The country on the north side, close to the river is *paddy*, or rice-land, intersected by a number of small nullahs; from the south bridge, as far as the extremity of the island, it is all the same; the rest of the island is pasture land. A little to the east-

* Butter made from buffalo's milk.

ward of the south bridge is a considerable silk manufactory. The pettah of Seringapatam is near the centre of the island, of a square form, about half a mile broad, with very regular and commodious streets at right angles.

On the 22d of September 1790, I finally left Seringapatam. Tippoo had no sooner marched us out of the fort, than we were divided into three parties and separated. It is needless to say, that our parting was truly affecting; we took leave of one another, as for the last time, like men that were to undergo certain death, after spending ten years of sorrow together, and endeared to each other by mutual sufferings; one of the strongest ties of friendship. Each man received, on this mournful occasion, three seers of rice and three pice, which was the last subsistence I ever had from the tyrant.

At the time that we were taken out of the fort, twelve deserters from Tellichery were brought in; but it is not in my power to give any farther account of them. During my imprisonment, frequent desertions from the garrison occurred. Prior to my leaving the city, a Captain Bee, and four Europeans, amongst whom was another captain, whose name I have forgot, passed by the place; I spoke to them, and was informed, that they had been sent for by Tippoo, but for what purpose they did not know: the whole made a very miserable appearance.

One of our parties was detached the same day to Narandroog, the rock so fatal to Lieutenant Rutledge; one to Sundradroog, another high rock, about sixty miles north-east of Seringapatam; and the last, to which I belonged, to Outradroog,

droog, also a very high and steep rock, nearly fifty miles north-east of the capital.

I was five days on the road to this place, and when within a few miles of it, our guards, for what reason I cannot tell, were augmented to almost double their original number. They conducted us to the foot of the rock, where we entered a narrow and very steep path, cut through a thick forest. We all suffered dreadfully in travelling bare-footed up this rough and difficult ascent, being very much hurried, notwithstanding the weight and encumbrance of our irons. There are two or three forts on this rock, one above the other, and at the summit is a kind of battery. Some Malabar iron guns joined with hoops, and two old English nine-pounders, (which afterwards proved the source of my delivery) composed the whole artillery of the place.

Immediately on our arrival, we were carried before the killadar, where we heard read the order which had accompanied us from Tippoo: it directed him "to guard us with vigilance and strictness, until farther instructions; to put us instantly in fetters, and to allow us no provisions;" which plainly indicated that it was not intended we should live many days.

We were now in continual expectation of being dragged out to suffer a miserable and cruel death; our existence hung on the will of a tyrant, who had already so often displayed his insatiable thirst for blood, and manifested his present design, by prohibiting us our common food; we knew too well what fate awaited such as were condemned to these rocks; we also were apprized, that if even our sentence was by some accident suspended for a short period, the moment the

the tyrant met the smallest check in the field, the fatal blow would be struck.

Hope had never forsaken me during the whole ten years of my captivity; I constantly flattered myself with an opportunity to escape to an English settlement; but, at this juncture, I could not avoid yielding to despair, as no possibility of extricating myself from the present danger and confinement appeared. Had we even been unfettered, we could not get away, as the only communication with the rock was guarded by a line of sentries, and to survive long under such circumstances was folly to expect, as famine, if nothing else, must put a period to our lives. We had, however, resolved to perish our own way, the moment any violence should be offered us, and also to watch for an occasion to attempt an escape, should it be even that of attacking our guards when they came to examine our prison; we thought we might safely venture on any step, let it be ever so desperate, as nothing could be risked by a failure of success, our lives being already forfeited.

Gratitude will not allow me, in this place to withhold the just acknowledgments due from every one of us to Tippoo's Hindoo subjects; they constantly commiserated the situation of the unfortunate European prisoners, and saved the lives of many, by their timely humanity and assistance, when the unfeeling conqueror denied us food. The Kenneries, or natives of that country, of whom I shall have occasion to speak again in the course of my travels, after absconding from our tradroog, are a very quiet, inoffensive, and humane race of men, many of whom do not even know the name of their ruler, or have the least

idea of the despotism they live under, being too remote from the immediate object of tyranny, and too much attached to peace and indolence, to be inquisitive about who receives the revenues of the country, or who dissipates them; conceiving the whole duty of their lives comprised in tilling their grounds, paying their taxes, and adoring their cows. This is the harmless and benevolent set of people, who are the objects of Tippoo's persecution, whom he labours to convert to Mahometism, and whom he can only render unhappy, if he ever effects his cruel purpose.

We had now been supported nearly five weeks almost entirely by the charity of the inhabitants of Ontradroog, except that sometimes our misery excited the pity of our very guards, though accustomed to behold distress with indifference, and perpetrate murder at a single nod. We began to wonder why our execution was so long delayed, when, providentially for me, it entered into the killadar's head, to have his old and rusty artillery repaired before his European prisoners were sent out of the world. I happened to be the person appointed, and being instructed to furnish his guns, to report what they wanted, and give directions for putting them in serviceable order, he suffered me to be conducted to the distant parts of the rock where these useless cannon were planted. It cannot be suspected that I refused my aid, when it is remembered, that this was the only opportunity I should have of reconnoitring the rock. I was accordingly laden with my promises, and the credulous killadar returned highly pleased with the idea of having his

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cannon put in complete repair. I did not fail to avail myself of this occasion, minutely to examine our gaol, as well as the forest below, and the country surrounding it, observing only as much precaution as was necessary not to betray my design, or alarm the suspicions of my guards. The different situations of the killadar's guns, which obliged me to go all round the rock, proved peculiarly useful, and enabled me to make the utmost advantage of my time.

When I returned to my companions, I faithfully related every thing, and informed them that I had seen a road by which we might descend the rock undiscovered. It was immediately agreed that we should, without losing time, make the attempt, and so great was our joy, in consequence of my proposal, when it was first started that we entirely forgot we were under close confinement, and very strictly watched, and supposing this difficulty surmounted, that there was great probability of our being detected before we could clear the fort, that our irons embarrassed us, that we had half a mile to walk on the rock, a high precipice to throw ourselves over, a thick forest abounding with wild beasts to rush into at the foot of the rock, and, above all, that we had to elude five or six guards, which would oblige us to penetrate deep into the wood, and often to creep on all fours: but these obstacles presented themselves very obviously, as soon as the ardour of our fancy had a little abated; yet we determined to make an effort, although a difficulty occurred which had nearly overthrown the whole. I mean that of agreeing about the most eligible method of carrying our plan into execution.

After

After a long discussion and much consultation, the only possible expedient was at last fixed on, and we came to a resolution of breaching the mud wall of our prison, and getting out in the night.

The only necessary precaution was silence. The nights on which we found the guards engaged in gambling, or other amusements, were therefore assigned for our operations, to the accomplishment of which, an old knife being the only instrument we had, the work of course required time and great patience: we had not proceeded many nights, with digging and watching by turns, before we found this tool insufficient for the purpose, the wall being uncommonly thick. We then thought of another way of effecting it, by constantly pouring water in the hole, to moisten the earth, till soft enough to be dug out. This scheme promised better success, and was less exposed to discovery.

We employed twenty days in undermining and sapping the wall, during which time we communicated our intention to seven of our companions, who were confined in an adjoining room, and with whom we were permitted to converse during the day; and they accordingly commenced in like manner. As we had little to do at this time, we turned our thoughts towards liberating our legs; in this we likewise partly succeeded, by means of a penknife which one of the prisoners had hid in an old mat, when we were searched on coming to this place; the large knife had been secretly given to us by one of the Carnatic people, who was employed in mending pice at Outradroog. We heated the small knife till it became red hot, then cut notches

in it with the large one, and having converted it to a little saw, we worked incessantly, when unobserved, until we had quite cut through the rivets of one leg, which by that means could be disengaged, and both the iron rings drawn on the other.

We had resolved, in case of a discovery, to attack our guards before they had time to secure us, and either to fight our way out of the place, or fall in the attempt. We had, for this purpose, selected the largest and stoutest sticks of the wood which, now and then, with the killadar's permission, had been brought to us to cook our rice, when we had any. The whole garrison, at this time, did not exceed sixty or seventy men, and we thought it much more advisable, in case of a detection, to let it come to such an issue, than tamely to submit to a certain death, in a much more disgraceful manner. A dozen desperate men, fighting for their lives, have before performed extraordinary feats. Several native prisoners were, besides, confined in the fort. These people had one day caught us with our irons off, and might have betrayed every thing, if one of our prisoners had not, fortunately, seen them in the same situation a day or two before, having liberty to visit each other during the day, as all the prisons were contiguous; we took care to remind them of this circumstance, and mutual interest, I believe, preserved the secret.

It seemed, however, as if the guards began to suspect us the last two or three days, for they examined our fetters very particularly; but we had luckily procured, out of the bazar, a piece of lead through one of our companions, who set up for a doctor, and was suffered to prescribe for the garrison

With the lead we filled the holes of the rivet so exactly, as to render the deception discernible only to a very nice scrutiny. Our doctor was of singular service in more than one instance, and was the means of preserving our lives frequently, by what he earned by prescribing to the simple Outradroogans, who had taken great liking to his harmless physic. Two days before we escaped, he received a whole sheep from a polygar, who was on his way with five hundred of his dependants, to join Tippoo, for administering a dose to him of common country spirits, which put him in the finest humour in the world.

The 27th of November was fixed upon for our attempt, and on that evening every thing was in readiness for our purpose. As soon as it was dark, we began to remove the earth; but to our great mortification, we found ourselves at midnight below the surface of the ground; this surprised and alarmed us much; but reflecting that something was necessary to be done immediately, we began by concealing the earth we had dug out in earthen pots, and hung a large blanket over the hole when day appeared. It was clear, that we should not long be able to hide the situation of the wall, I therefore worked all the next day, supplied the place incessantly with water, kept wet cloths in it to moisten the upper part, where the breach was to be enlarged or made. My companions kept singing and making a noise all day, that the bustle I made might be heard. Every thing was a second time done by night, on the 28th, and having found the breach practicable, we gave notice to our companions in the next room, who joined us

before eleven o'clock. The guards had lately indulged us with keeping the prison door open till near eight, but this evening we feigned sleepiness, and they too were fortunately engaged in gambling. The first step we took, was to disengage one of our legs, and to muffle and fasten the irons on the other. We then tied our rags about us, and provided ourselves, each man, with a couple of raggy cakes, which had been laid up for the occasion.—Being appointed to conduct the rest, I crept out of the breach just at twelve o'clock, with the large knife in one hand and a stout stick in the other. As soon as the whole had got through, and some found a difficulty from their size, we assembled with all possible silence, and I, according to agreement, conducted the party over the mud wall that surrounded the area of the prisons, which was between seven and eight feet high on the inside, but much lower on the outer; on account of the rising of the rock. There was another wall, called the Fort Wall, about one hundred and fifty paces farther on, which entirely encompassed the top of the rock, and between these two walls was a guard placed over some native prisoners, which we could not avoid passing very near. A slight shower, which fell just at this crisis, proved therefore extremely favourable; the rain drove the sentinels under cover, and we plainly saw them sitting smoking round a fire in the verandah of the prison in great security. The shower continued till we had safely cleared the outer wall, near which there was another guard, but not directly in our course; we now proceeded to the precipice, which I had not been able to examine with sufficient preciseness to determine either the exact

height or nature of ; but as I had undertaken to conduct my companions down the rock, I proposed to descend first ; accordingly I threw myself upon my hands, and in this manner, meeting no resistance or any rest for my feet, unable to recover myself, I slid down the rock greatly terrified at the rapidity of my fall, as I found the precipice higher than it had appeared from the top of the rock. I was relieved at last by catching hold of the branches of a small tree which grew near the bottom, and broke my fall, by bringing myself up against the trunk of it. I had, unfortunately, it seems gone to the steepest part of the precipice. Shortly after, I was joined by my companions, who had followed my example, and saved themselves by the shrubbery and small trees which covered the entire bottom of the precipice. It was near one o'clock at this time, and the moon, as we expected, began to shine.

I have before mentioned, we were twelve in number, eleven Englishmen and a Frenchman, who had incurred Tippoo's displeasure. We immediately directed our way towards the thick forest that environed the foot of the rock. I suffered extremely in traversing a thicket before I reached the wood, both from the sharpness of the prickles and thorns, and the ruggedness of the rock, being obliged to creep on all fours. By the time I was half through it, I was alarmed by the challenge of a sentry, whom I could not see, nor do I think it possible he could have seen me, being buried amongst the bushes. It was probably the rustling amongst the leaves which attracted his attention, and he was, undoubtedly, more frightened than myself, tigers being very common in this part of the country. I made, however,

however, a full stop, and turned immediately farther to the eastward, or up the rock, having attended particularly, when reconnoitring, to that part of it where no guards or sentries were posted; and having cleared them, I immediately descended and struck into the wood.

It had been determined, that we should follow a northerly direction, in hopes of reaching the nizam's dominions, but I missed my comrades the moment I had entered the thicket, and never heard of them afterwards. About two o'clock I had disengaged myself from the thicket, but the circumstance of missing all the rest of the party gave me much uneasiness, and naturally produced various conjectures, whether it arose from intention or accident. Unfortunately for me they had got the whole stock of provisions; this and the bad state of my health at the time, made me suspect that they wished to get rid of me. Ungrateful as this procedure may appear, I rather hoped it might be the cause of our separation, than that any sinister event had befallen them; for I no sooner reached the country below, than I heard the sound of trumpets and *tam tams**, which I conceived to be an alarm in the fort on missing us. I was very apprehensive, that, in spite of the cautions I had given my companions, they might have descended through the thicket in too straight a line, which would bring them direct upon some of the out-posts I had warned them of, or throw them in the way of their pursuers.

Amidst these painful reflections for others, the loss of my poor cakes, gave me, I confess, great

* Indian drums.

concern, as I was extremely feeble, and very uncertain of soon meeting with any food; but reflecting that Providence alone could save me, and that it behoved me to make every personal exertion in my power, before I gave up all for lost, I continued my course on the plain which bounded the forest in a northerly direction. I can never be sufficiently thankful for a very extraordinary and fortunate circumstance, viz. that a fever, which had regularly visited me for some time before, never returned after this day, though the anxiety and pain, to which the last twenty-four hours had exposed me, could not be favourable to convalescence. When I had advanced about five miles on the plain, I stumbled suddenly on a mud fort, which I never discovered until challenged by a sentry on the walls. I judged it most prudent to return for answer, and taking a circuit round it, I continued my course without farther interruption till day-break, when I found myself within twentypaces of two of Hyder's troopers, who were cooking their victuals on the bank of a tank; it was too late to shun them, I therefore resolved to march boldly on, hoping to pass unnoticed as one of the country people, for which reason I wrapped myself up in my blanket, and passed them near enough to overhear their conversation; they were just deliberating who I might be; one said, "There goes certainly an European;" the other repeated, "You fool, from whence should an European come here; don't you see it is a woman?" at that instant my irons happened accidentally to rattle, which decided the contest, and confirmed the last opinion, the noise being taken for the sound of those bangles, or brass ornaments, which the women of India wear round their

their arms and legs; I was, in consequence of this circumstance, suffered to pass without being interrupted, though not without having felt great anxiety for the ticklishness of my situation.

I walked on a couple of miles farther, after this adventure, to a wood, which I reached about sun rise, and immediately found a spot pretty well covered, where I laid down to rest for the day, judging it imprudent to travel but in the night. I had not lain down long before I grew quite stiff, and felt a pain in my bones; examining the leg that my irons were fastened on, I found, that constant rubbing against it, had made a deep hole, which now gave me great uneasiness, though, whilst agitated and warm with walking, I had not perceived it. I now discovered, that unless I could disengage myself from the irons, it would be vain to think of proceeding, as, independent of what I suffered from them, my feet were extremely sore from traversing the sharp-pointed stones of the rock. Fortunately the large knife had remained with me, with this I fell to work, and happily, before night set in, had totally removed the fetters. I felt my spirits much exhilarated from this circumstance, and seemed quite refreshed, though I eat nothing the whole day. Intent on pursuing my journey, I mounted a hill near me, from whence I reconnoitred the country for many miles round, and gained a tolerable idea of the direction proper to follow, in order to avoid plains as much as possible. It was sun-set when I resumed my course, and, after passing the wood, I had, unavoidably, a large plain to cross, on which I had observed a mud fort and cattle grazing, but notwithstanding which I reached about midnight, a range of hills that run

between

between Bangalore and Seringapatam, in an easterly direction, and which I had taken notice of before dark. Four days did I wander amongst these huge mountains and craggy hills, without meeting with any food, or even a drop of water, though I had been less cautious with respect to the time of travelling, finding no traces at all of human beings. I felt myself so very weak and reduced at last, that unless the next day brought me relief I must perish, and therefore resolved to make one desperate effort, the following day, for clearing the hills. I laid down to rest with this resolution, and fell asleep, notwithstanding the gnawing hunger that promised speedily to put me beyond the reach of sublunary pain.

Next morning, the 4th of December, I rose with very miserable prospects, but tottering along, I was fortunate enough, almost immediately to discern a hamlet of a few huts amongst the hills! This unexpected sight gave me new animation, knowing very well that I was in no danger from people with whose charitable dispositions I was well acquainted, and who seemed as dropt from heaven for my succour; understanding, besides, the Kenary language, I had it in my power to pass for any body I pleased, and should they even discover who I was, there was no room for apprehending they would hurt me; such is the humanity and peaceable temper of these harmless villagers. It may seem incredible to some, that I should have existed five days without food, and four without a drop of water, under such bodily fatigue and anxiety of mind; but to my very reduced state do I attribute my surviving it; let it also be remembered, that I had been pretty well inured to hunger during my long captivity, where our allowance

allowance was so frequently stopped, and where we often remained one, two, three, four, and five days, without any food whatsoever.

I approached the hamlet, and from the first person I met, which was an old woman, demanded some charity to save me from starving. She entered into conversation with me, and the sound of our voices instantly brought several other women out of the huts, who, perceiving how weak and emaciated I was, expressed great compassion for me, and each went and brought me some of her homely fare, consisting of boiled raggy, and gram water made into a curry, which proved the most welcome and savoury repast I ever made. I passed myself upon these kind old women for a Rajepoot, knowing few or none of that cast were to be found in this part of the country. The few men that belonged to the hamlet being all employed in the field, the women and children only remained at home, though I should have been equally safe had the men been present. When I had told them that I was returning to my own country, they pitied the painful and sore condition of my feet, and immediately brought some warm water, with which they bathed them. When I left these compassionate and benevolent creatures, they furnished me with a couple of raggy cakes, being all the prepared provisions the hamlet could produce after I had satisfied my hunger, and seemed to be much concerned for my safety. One of them pointed to a road which they warned me against following, saying, that it led directly to one of those polygamous forts with which the country abounds; a piece of information which I received with pleasure as it was the very route, till better instructed
which





T. Kirk del.

Bristow alarmed by Tigers

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which I had determined to take. I left my charitable benefactresses with a heart overflowing with gratitude and many melancholy reflections. Their hospitable treatment reconciled me so much to life and the company of mankind, that I could not avoid deploring the little probability which existed of my ever joining my countrymen. I rushed into the wood, and took a great sweep to avoid the polygar fort, and such as might belong to it, knowing well how widely they differed, in point of meekness and humanity, from the simple and good-natured Kennarees.

The following morning I was fortunate enough to fall in with some trees, bearing a berry much resembling in colour, shape, and size, our sloes; and knowing this fruit to be very wholesome, I devoured as many as I was able to eat on the spot, and afterwards gathered as many more as I could carry away.

I continued to travel in a northerly direction, as much as possible amongst the woods, until the evening, when coming to a plain which I must unavoidably pass, I all at once perceived, to my unspeakable terror, two tigers, not above one hundred paces from me, coming right across the plain: it was the first time in my life that I had ever seen these animals alive: I saw them approach without losing my presence of mind, but they seemed not to notice me until the instant they were opposite to me, when, to my great satisfaction, they turned away with their tails between their legs, and in a long trot disappeared, and it will easily be believed, that I was in no hurry to follow or overtake them. I am, however, from this adventure, led to give some credit to the reported pusillanimity of the tiger,

which, it is said, will seldom attack a person unless by surprise, or a sudden leap, which he will not resume, if he misses his aim; and I cannot avoid believing, that these two were actually afraid of me, which, could I convey the appearance I made at the time in an exact drawing, might produce less wonder.

About an' hour after this rencounter I fell in with a troop of polygars returning from hunting, and I truly confess, their appearance alarmed me much more than that of the tigers, being the danger I most of all apprehended, and from what followed, it will appear that my fears were not groundless. They instantly took me prisoner, and carried me to a mud fort, to the westward of the forest; it was not quite dark when we reached it, and I had just time to notice a large tank behind it, which immediately struck me as the securest road to follow, should I be fortunate enough to give my new captors the slip. They conducted me into the fort, and took me immediately before the chief, or commander of their own party, who addressed me first in the Kanny language, which pretending not to understand he asked me in Moors, where I came from, and who I was. I replied, that I was a Rajepoot disabled in Tippoo's service, and now returning to my own country; he desired me to produce my pass or discharge, which I told him I had lost on the road. During this interrogation, I perceived that the by-standers eyed me very attentively, and casting my eyes down, I saw a hole in my blanket, through which my skin appeared, the colour of which did not correspond with my face, which I had rendered pretty dark by washing with tobacco water, the only remedy I had for

the wounds which the briars and thorns daily bestowed on my naked feet. I overheard their conjectures, although not suspected of understanding them, which, after some altercation in the Kennary language, terminated in what was actually the fact, that I could be no other than some European deserted from the chaylahs. The chief then commanded them to secure me in the centre of the fort, which had three different gates, one within another, being surrounded with a triple wall. I now perceived that I was not only discovered, but had fallen into the hands of people who were, by their discourse, adherents to Tippoo. My new lord told me in Moors to make myself easy, and that I should be well fed and not hurt; but his consolation administered little comfort to my mind, and I began to shudder at the thoughts of returning once more to the clutches of the barbarian. I was left in charge of one sentry, until the killadar's determination with respect to me could be obtained, and had the satisfaction to hear my sentinel receive orders not to bind me before the commander had been consulted.

It was evident, that all hopes of escaping the impending danger, and of avoiding a second visit to Seringapatam, depended upon the exertions and success of the moment. I therefore resolved to make the attempt, and the moment the crowd was dispersed, I vehemently complained of thirst, and implored the sentry to bring me a draught of water. I was in reality very weak when taken up by these people, and on their seizing me I pretended to be much more so; this circumstance, and my poor appearance, deceived the sentry so easily, that he never dreamt, I suppose, of my attempting

tempting to walk off, and therefore, readily went for the water. The instant he was out of sight, I wrapped myself carefully up in my blanket, and strutted boldly out of the fort, passing all the three gates without any interruption or suspicion, the passages being crowded with people and cattle returning from the fields. I did not hasten my pace till I had got to the distance of about fifty yards from the outer gate, when turning to the right, I crossed a paddy field with all the expedition I could muster, and then waded through the tank, which I had taken notice of on coming into the fort. When I had crossed the tank, I ventured to look behind me, and perceiving a great number of lights moving backwards and forwards, which I concluded to be the polygars in search of me, and fearing some one of them might go round the tank without a light, and thus come unexpectedly upon me, I set forward with all the speed I could in a westerly direction for about an hour, when, finding I was not pursued, I turned again to the north, and travelled for three successive nights over an open country, being obliged, during the day, to hide myself in caverns and holes. In the mean time I found myself under the necessity to break upon my cakes, though I knew not when I might meet with another supply; I trusted, however, that the same Providence which had hitherto supported me would not withdraw its assistance, when it should be no longer in my own power to make personal exertions.

I continued, notwithstanding the excessive fatigue attending that mode of travelling, to wade through innumerable tanks and water-courses which flowed from the hills that I was now approaching.

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proaching. I preferred this mode, troublesome as it was, to that of walking round the banks and borders, that I might not fall in with polygars, or other hostile people inhabiting the villages, which, in general, are met with in India where there is a piece of water; ever since my last adventure, dreading nothing so much as any animal in a human shape.

The fourth morning, which was the 12th of December, I fell in with some straggling rocks, here and there covered with thickets, and being very tired, and exceedingly hungry, I seated myself in a thicket, and, overpowered with hunger and fatigue, dropped to sleep. After a rest of some hours, I woke, and though excessively weak I thought myself refreshed by the nap, and consequently moved two or three miles farther, when, to my inexpressible joy, I again discovered some of those berries which had formerly relieved me. I instantly stripped every tree, by first satisfying my hunger, and then loading my blanket with the residue, which engaged me for the remainder of the day. With this last supply I continued to travel until the 15th at day-break, when, to my great terror, I found that I had unawares got amongst a number of villages upon a large plain, with a mud fort lying immediately in front of me. I already saw the people quitting the fort to follow their occupations in the fields, and found that it would be impossible to avoid them. To give as little suspicion, therefore, as possible, I resolved to meet them boldly, hoping by that means to pass for a traveller unworthy of notice. I was not suffered to proceed far, before a party of polygars stopt and examined me. Having already, from the conversation of the people

who had passed, discovered that one of Tippoo's regular battalions garrisoned the fort, I conceived it would be impossible to pass for an Indian amongst men composed of all the different castes and nations of India; I therefore, without any seeming hesitation, sharply replied in Moors, that I came from the English camp, and was proceeding to Gootie. They asked, what carried me thither:—I answered, some of my companions and friends, captured with General Matthews last war, had taken service with the sultan, and had written me to join them, giving a very favourable account of their situation. Gootie was the only place on Tippoo's frontiers which I had ever heard of, and knowing it to be contiguous to the nizam's territories, which was the road I proposed taking, I concluded it safest to name this place. They suffered me not, however, as I had wished, to proceed, but carried me into the fort, and brought me before the killadar, where I underwent a second examination in the presence of the polygars, but took care to repeat exactly the same story. The killadar put many questions respecting the Carnatic to me, at the same time informing me that he was a native of that country and was always happy to hear from his home. As I was very unable to give him satisfactory answers on this head, I thought it best to say, that I had only six months before arrived from Bengal, and was a stranger on this coast, but that such parts of the Carnatic as I had travelled through appeared in a high state of cultivation. He asked how I came to be so miserably reduced and naked, saying, it was not customary for Europeans to travel without clothes. I replied, that I had only brought four rupees out of the Carnatic

with me, which were long ago expended, as I had not expected the journey would be so tedious, since which time I had subsisted by begging; and with respect to my clothes, I had been obliged to throw them away, finding it unsafe to travel as an European, and that, if I had been recognised, nothing would have saved my life, being a deserter, but that my present disguise had afforded me protection.

He seemed to credit this assertion, and having ordered me some victuals, went away. In about an hour he returned to interrogate me afresh, and tried, I plainly discovered, if I would contradict any thing I had said, and by way of sounding me thoroughly, told me the Mahrattas had lately plundered the country all round, and that they then were encamped with a very strong force only seven or eight coss off, and advised me to enter into service with him. I answered, that since I had encountered so many hardships in order to meet my friends, I would by no means relinquish the attempt, or enter into service with any other power, but proceed directly to Gootie, where he would suffer me to continue my journey. To this, at last, to my unspeakable satisfaction, he consented, and to impress him with greater confidence and faith in my sincerity, I requested permission to remain that night in the fort, and that he would be pleased to instruct me what to take to avoid the Mahrattas.

Next morning, which was the 16th, I set out from the fort, provided with two large *jarra* * *chatney* †, and a guide, who had the *adar's* orders to shew me the way. The mo-

* A kind of flower.

† A pickle.

ment I was restored to liberty again, my joy was so great, that I scarcely could credit my own senses, and for some minutes thought myself under the illusion of a dream. It was certainly a wonderful escape, to get away from one of Tip-poo's own forts, when I had so little chance of making my own story probable.

The guide I had been provided with soon grew tired of his charge, and displayed no reluctance at being permitted to leave me. I did not long continue the same road after he was gone, but immediately took the old northerly direction, and travelled with all possible expedition upon the scanty subsistence of my cakes, and such berries as I could pick up, until the 23d at night, when coming into some very high and broken ground, I was discovered by the sentry on the walls of a mud fort, who challenged me. I had perceived lights on my first getting into the broken ground, which I strove to avoid by inclining to the left, and as I was moving off, I suddenly saw two lighted torches held up, and at that instant the sentry challenged me; this made me conjecture I was perceived, particularly as more lights immediately afterwards issued from a watch-house. Fearing therefore that I might be surrounded, I turned about and made for a wood in the rear, which I reached in safety, and walked for three miles to the westward, until I came to another rock, which was nearly at the dawn of day; from this place I had a full view of the last-mentioned fort, and finding a tolerable secure cave, I laid down to sleep. About three o'clock in the afternoon I was disturbed by the bleating of sheep, and looking through a crevice in the rock I saw men at work in felling timber; I remained quiet

sun-set, when rising to take a view of the country, I heard a strange noise, and looking towards the place whence it arose, I beheld, to my utter astonishment, a bear very busy in preparing a den under the very clift where I reposed.

The moment I was able to determine what I had to take, I descended the hill, much dejected for want of food; I travelled all night, only halting occasionally, from extreme weakness, and the pain of my fore and swelled feet; in the morning I had the good fortune to reach a village, which lately had been plundered by the Mahrattas; here I picked up, among the deserted ruins, about half a seer of rice, and nearly as much ragi, a few chillies, a little tobacco, an old earthen pot, and a strong bamboo walking stick, which proved of singular service to me afterwards as a supporter. I sat down and devoured some of the rice, which I soaked in water; and after this reasonable meal I pursued my journey, and before I had gone far, I discovered a jarra field, where I spent the remainder of the day in plucking off the heads of the grain, and rubbing them between my hands.

I found that I was much weaker at this period than I had imagined, being obliged, at very short intervals, to have recourse to rest, and with all my endeavours was unable to travel above five or six miles in the course of four and twenty hours. Notwithstanding the daily accumulation of my distresses, my spirits never entirely forsook me, but the impossibility of holding out much longer was now too evident; however, I continued to saunter on, sometimes among woods and broken rocks, and sometimes over plains, until the 27th, when I came to the banks of a small nullah,

nullah, which had nearly terminated my sufferings with my life. The attempt of crossing it so effectually exhausted my small remains of strength, before I could reach the opposite side that I should inevitably have perished, if I had not fortunately caught hold of some bullrushes which grew in the water on the side of the nullah. In this struggle for life I lost my earthen pot, my tobacco, and all the provisions I had left; besides I was so much fatigued and expended when I had climbed up the bank, that I laid myself down on the grass with very little hopes of being able to proceed. A few hours sleep, however, refreshed me a little, and resolution lent me new strength; in short, I made shift to combat hunger and fatigue until the 1st of January. This hilly country was so extremely barren and inhospitable, that a few wild berries composed the whole of what I existed upon during the last five days.

On New Year's Day I had got within sight of the termination of the long range of hills, at the foot of which I had so long been travelling; but just as I began to entertain some faint hopes of being at last within the reach of relief, a new, and apparently insurmountable obstacle, presented itself to my dejected eyes, as a bar to all future prospects of being rewarded for my late sufferings.

The Tangbaudar River, which runs in an easterly direction, at the distance of seven or eight miles to the southward of Gopaul, now lay immediately before me. No human probability of gaining the opposite shore appeared, as no boats were in sight, and feebleness had so totally disabled me, that swimming was not to be thought of. I

In this dreadful perplexity I looked eagerly around, in order, if possible, to distinguish some piece of wood, or branch of a tree, that would help to bear me up through the stream; but in vain. Without allowing, however, distress and despair to conquer all my hopes, I moved slowly and fully along the banks of the river, and, after some time, I spied a ferry boat; my heart now expanded with joy, and I fancied nothing now remained but to step into the boat and be rowed over; but, as ill fate would have it, the ferryman would not even suffer me to approach his boat. I feared, by too hastily soliciting a passage, (for I was unequal to force) to hazard a discovery, the consequence of which I dreaded more than death itself. Obligated to submit to my destiny, I went back, resolved to proceed in an easterly direction along the banks of the river, until I should meet either with a ford, or some other mode of crossing; or, what seemed much the most probable, with a termination to my miseries; but death.

After proceeding as before mentioned, on casting my eyes to the opposite side, I saw two large forts at some distance, and heard at the same time the discharge of cannon, whence I concluded the forts to be besieged either by us or some of our allies. This increased my anxiety to cross the river, and redoubling my efforts, I continued travelling until the next day about three o'clock in the afternoon, when, perceiving a guard, I halted. I afterwards discovered that this was a Mahratta piquet guard, but uncertainty and fear at this time determined me to avoid it, in consequence of which I was obliged to take a circuit, and cross the extremity of the hills. I reached the

the foot of them about sun-set, and found them covered with verdure. Here I rested till morning, when I began to ascend the hill, and did not advanced far before I met an old woman watching her cows, who gave me a raggy cap and advised me to keep well to the left, if I wished to avoid another guard posted on the other side of the hills. My better destiny certainly directed my steps to this good-natured old woman; nor was this the first time since my captivity, that I was indebted for my life to the aged part of the sex; my good genius, of late, had absolutely never appeared to me but in the shape of an old woman; the last pointed out the most traversible part of the rock, and on the fourth day I reached the opposite plain, where the adjacent fields supplied me with some grain, which enabled me to pursue my course once more towards the river, the stream of which I continued to follow for several days longer, but with so little effect, from the excessive reduced state of my strength, that I only advanced seven miles in all that time.

On the fourth day I found myself near a mountain fort, which I had not previously observed, and was suddenly surrounded by a number of Marattas, and taken up and carried before the Nair putty rajah, who was proprietor of this fort. The rajah was then engaged in making preparations for taking the field in the morning, and directed that I should be retained in the fort, and taken care of till he should return.

During his absence it was discovered that there was an European, and the rajah's son, a handsome young man, who was left to command the fort in his father's absence, was extremely kind to me. A native doctor was ordered to heal my wounds.

and excoriated feet, and abundance of provisions were given me, though I did not venture fully to indulge my appetite, from the weak state of my stomach. I had recruited my health and strength pretty well by the 12th of February, when the rajah returned, and I was next day taken before him. Having learnt since my arrival, that he was one of those Mahratta rajahs whom Tippoo had dispossessed in 1785 and 1786, but who had availed himself of the approach of our troops in 1790, to recover his ancient territory and right, and that he consequently was no partizan of the Mysore sultan, I frankly answered his interrogatories by a plain confession of the simple truth. He seemed much affected at my narrative, pitied my sufferings, gave me a piece of cloth, of which I stood in extreme need, having no covering to my nakedness but the blanket I had brought out of my outradroog, and invited me to enter into his service. I concluded, that the surest way of obtaining the liberty which I now panted after, would be to assent to the rajah's request. I therefore readily accepted his offer; in consequence of which I was immediately released, and desired to command whatever I wanted; I returned very submissive thanks for the rajah's promises of protection, and affected to be much satisfied with my situation. That night and next day I walked about at pleasure, and had already inspired the people of the fort with so much confidence, that nobody seemed to notice my departure, between the hours of nine and ten, on the 14th, at night, when I proceeded directly towards the river, which at this place was about two hundred yards broad, but in general narrower; but so

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bold had my recovered strength rendered me that I plunged in, and swam over immediately.

I had discovered from the people in the fort, that Gopaul was the place I had distinguished at my first approaching the river, consequently I directed my course towards it the moment I crossed, and walked without intermission or interruption until about eleven o'clock the next day; I then halted to take some refreshment, being in the centre of several villages; and provided with four pice in money, being the produce of my allowance of rice from the rajah's granary, received the day before I left the fort, which I immediately sold, that I might not travel penniless.—About three o'clock in the afternoon I set out again, and got near Gopaul half an hour after dark, when some of the nizam's people, after hearing my tale, picked me up, and sent me on an elephant to Mouberrjung's camp, where I was somewhat astonished to find myself confined under a guard; but reflecting that I was in the hands of an ally, that English troops were present, and that any mistakes with respect to me would speedily be cleared up, I lay down to sleep pretty easy in mind. Next day, being the 16th, I was early in the morning taken before the bukshy, who put a number of questions to me, all which I answered, by desiring to be conveyed to the English commander. A guard immediately was sent along with me to his encampment, but being absent on the batteries himself, I had to remain, whilst his orders could be received, an object of curiosity to the troops, to whom I was represented as a Frenchman, sent by Tippoo to succour the fort.

Some hours had elapsed, and my situation began to grow irksome, and the spectators troublesome, though no violence was offered to me, when, fortunately, Lieutenant English returning from duty on the batteries, beheld the crowd, and having enquired into the cause of it, carried me from the nizam's guard to Captain Dalrymple's marquee. I related my history, together with the particulars of my escape, to this gentleman, who congratulated me on my fortunate delivery, ordered me what refreshments I wanted, and presented me with some rupees; he likewise gave me a coat, a hat, and some linen. Thus I found myself once more, after ten years of cruel captivity, apparelled like an European, amongst men of honour, and restored to liberty.

Next day Captain Reid, who commanded the English detachment, ordered me to come to him in the batteries. I related the whole of my sufferings, from the time of my becoming a prisoner in the Carnatic; he heard me with surprise, and kindly offered to furnish me with safe conduct either to Madras or Bengal, whichever I should desire.

I remained until the 26th of February in Captain Reid's camp, receiving every mark of generosity and favour from the officers, and supplied by their liberality with necessaries for a long journey. I set out from camp on the evening of the 26th of February 1791, with a guide and a servant boy, for Pangul, the nizam's court, where Captain Kennaway, the resident with the subah, was to renew my pass through the decan. On the 8th of March, after travelling two hundred and sixteen miles, in a style very different from my former journey, I reached Pangul, and

waited immediately upon Captain Kennaway. After producing my pass, and relating my adventures to him, I requested his aid and permission to proceed to the grand army: he seemed, however, to think the undertaking too hazardous, if at all practicable, but offered to grant me a pass either to Fort St. George, from whence I might easily join the army with one of the convoys, or to Masulipatam, where I should be at liberty to follow my own inclinations. I chose the latter, and after remaining at Pangul till the 25th, and having continual kindnesses conferred on me by Captain Kennaway and the other gentlemen resident there, I set off for Masulipatam, well provided with every thing necessary for the road.

On the 3d of April I reached Condepella, where Major ——— commanded; he was also extremely kind to me, gave me ample supplies for the little that remained of my journey, and hearing that I could give some information respecting the works and situations about Seringapatam, and on the island, and also that I was extremely desirous of joining the grand army, and render any little services within the small compass of my power and abilities, he generously wrote a letter to Lord Cornwallis in my behalf. On the 5th of April, early in the morning, I set out again, and on the 7th reached Masulipatam, having travelled, since I left Pangul, two hundred and sixty miles, without, however, having met with any thing deserving to be mentioned, or suffering any hardships.

At Masulipatam, I had the satisfaction of meeting one of the four men who fled from the detachment forming at Peripatam in 1782, and whose escape had proved so fatal to the remain-
ing

ing eight, and in fact to all the prisoners. I staid with him five days, and was entertained with cordiality, good-nature, and all the kindness which the satisfaction and happiness of rejoining a fellow captive, who, like himself, after incredible sufferings, had escaped from slavery, could inspire. He confirmed every circumstance I had heard, respecting their escape, and seemed to recall those past misfortunes, with a kind of awful pleasure, to his memory.

Seven days after my arrival at Masulipatam, I took the opportunity of an old Parriah vessel, entirely manned by blacks, to embark for Madras with two more Europeans of that establishment. We were in sight of Fort St. George, when a violent gale of wind drove us out to sea again, and tossed the damaged and leaky ship about for several days with unabated fury. Fortune seemed not yet quite tired of persecuting me, for we laboured in vain to recover the roads of Madras. Thirty-six days we lived on a quarter of a seer of bad rice, a few salted onions, and half a pint of water per day, suffering consequently not less from want and the fear of starving than the danger of foundering. The southern monsoon drove the vessel, in the mean time, up the bay in spite of us, but we did not reach Ingelee until the 6th of June, two days after all our provisions on board had been consumed.

On the 7th we made shift to proceed up to Kedegree, in hopes of relief, and luckily fell in with a pilot vessel, where, with the other Europeans, I was taken on board, and some food and refreshment given us. The next morning we were sent on shore to Mr. Wheatly, who treated us very humanely, kept us a couple of days to re-

cover strength, and then furnished us with provisions and a boat. On the 11th of June, 1791, I arrived at Fort William, after an absence of ten years and eight months; three months and twenty-five days of which had been spent in the service of my country; nine years, nine months, and twenty-two days in slavery, partly as a prisoner of war, and partly as a captive, retained in defiance of faith and the law of nations.

The above is a relation of what one obscure individual suffered, whilst in the power of a conqueror who degrades humanity.

By the kind recommendation of some gentlemen in Bengal, who commiserated his sufferings, he obtained from the military auditor general, the full arrears of his pay, during the whole period of his imprisonment; and afterwards joined the grand army, that he might have an opportunity of supporting the honour of his country, and of revenging his own private wrongs. Few ever suffered more, and we are sure, every reader of sensibility will join in the wish, that his future life might be free from calamity.

NARRATIVE

NARRATIVE
OF THE EXTRAORDINARY
ADVENTURES AND SUFFERINGS
OF
DONALD CAMPBELL, *Esq.*
Of Barbreck,

IN AN OVERLAND JOURNEY TO INDIA.

THESE adventures are addressed, in the form of letters, by Mr. Campbell, to his son, and give an instructive lesson of patience under sufferings, and of presence of mind in the most trying situations. The author's errors and foibles, which he candidly confesses, will also serve to warn others; and happy is he who learns prudence without the dear-bought risk of personal experience. We find that a variety of unpropitious circumstances gave rise to Captain Campbell's journey to the East Indies, while domestic calamity marked his departure, and, at the very outset, gave him a foretaste of those miseries which fate had reserved to let fall upon him in the sequel.

The channels from which he drew the means of supporting his family in that style which their rank and connections obliged them to maintain, were clogged by a coincidence of events as unlucky as unexpected: the war in India had interrupted

interrupted the regular remittance of his property from thence : a severe shock, which unbounded generosity and beneficence had given to the affairs of his father, rendered him incapable of maintaining his usual punctuality in the payment of the income he had assigned him ; and, to crown the whole, he had been deprived, by death of two lovely children.

It was under the pressure of such accumulated misfortunes, that he set out for India in the month of May, in year 1781.

His journey down to Margate, where he was to take shipping, was, as Shakespear emphatically says, “ a phantasm, or a hideous dream—and his little state of man suffered, as it were, the nature of an insurrection :”—the chaos within him forbade even the approach of discriminate reflection, and he found himself on board the packet, bound to Ostend, without having a single trace left upon his mind, of the intermediate stages and incidents that happened after he had left London.

He was, however, fortunate enough to find in the packet a fellow-passenger, whose interesting conversation and agreeable manners beguiled him insensibly of the gloom in which he was wrapt, and afforded his tortured mind a temporary suspension of pain. This gentleman was General Lockhart : he was going to Brussels, to pay his court to the Emperor Joseph II. who was then shortly expected in the Low Countries, in order to go through the ceremonies of his inauguration. As Brussels lay in Captain Campbell's route, he was flattered with the hopes of having for a companion a gentleman at once so pleasing in his manners and respectable in his character, and was greatly comforted when he found the general

much disposed as himself to an agreement to travel the whole of the way thither together. Thus, though very far from a state of ease, he was, when landing at Ostend, at least less miserable than at his coming on board the packet.

The country between Ostend and Bruges Captain Campbell describes as very level, and of course destitute of those charms to a mind of taste, which abound in countries tossed by the hand of nature into hill, dale, mountain, and valley. On approaching the town of Bruges, they passed between two rows of trees, beautiful, shady, and of lofty size—forming, with the surrounding objects, a scene, which, if not romantic, was at least picturesque.

They were stopped by a sentinel at the gates, who, with all the saucy swaggering air of authority of a slave in office, demanded to know, whether they had any contraband goods; whether they were in any military capacity; whence they came; and whither they were going; with a variety of other interrogatories, to his mind equally impertinent and teasing, but which seemed to make no greater impression on the good fellows themselves, than demanding the toll at a turnpike-gate would make on an English waggoner.

As our traveller was going to the barque, at Bruges, to take his departure for Ghent, the next town in his route, he was surprised to see a number of officious, busy, poor fellows, crowding round his effects, and seizing them—some his trunk, some his portmanteau, &c. two or three each: but his astonishment partly subsided, when he was told that they were porters, who waited on the canal, and about the city, for subsistence,

ence, and only came to have the honour of carrying his baggage down to the vessel. Noting their eagerness, he could not help smiling. "There are those," says he, "who would bluster at them: but my mirth at the bustling importance which the poor fellows affected, soon sunk into serious concern. Every one of these men demanded a remuneration for his labour: one man, it is true, could have easily done the work of five; but I resolved not to send them away discontented, and paid them to their full satisfaction."

Being seated in his barque, he set off for Ghent, a city lying at a distance of twenty-four miles from Bruges. The company, he observes, is in those vessels not always of the first rank; it is generally of a mixed, motley kind: but to a man who carries along with him, through his travels, a love for his fellow-creatures, and a desire to see men, and their customs and manners, it is both pleasant and eligible—at least he thought it so, and enjoyed it.

Although the face of that part of the country through which they were now passing, like that of the preceding stage from Ostend to Bruges, wanted diversity, it had its charms, and would have been particularly delightful to the eye of an English farmer; for it was covered with the thickest verdure on each side of the canal, and the banks decorated all along by rows of stately trees, while the fields in the back ground were cultivated to the highest degree of perfection.

Ghent is the capital of Flanders, and is to be reckoned among the largest cities of Europe, as it covers a space of ground of not less than seven miles in circumference; but there is not above one half of that occupied with buildings, the

greater

greater part being thrown into fields, gardens, orchards, and pleasure grounds. Situated on four navigable rivers, and intersected into no fewer than twenty-six islands by a number of canals, it may be considered, in point of local advantages for commerce, superior to most cities in Europe; while those islands are again united by about a hundred bridges, some great and some small, which contribute much to the beauty of the city.

From Ghent to Brussels, the next great stage in their way, there was no conveyance by water: they were, therefore, obliged to go in a voiture, and stopt at Alost, which lies at equal distance from Ghent and Brussels, being exactly fifteen miles from each.

This is a small, but exceedingly neat town, situated on the river Dender; and being a remarkably great thoroughfare, accommodations of every kind are tolerably good in it.

The territory of this city is of pretty large extent, and is called a county, having, in ancient times, had counts of its own; and the whole of it extremely fruitful in pasture, corn, hops, flax, and most other productions of those climes.

They made but a very short stay at Alost, and proceeded on to Brussels, at which place they arrived the same day they left Ghent.

"In all parts of the Netherlands through which I travelled," says Captain Campbell, "I could not help admiring the uniform decorations of the roads, rivers, and canals, with rows of lofty trees, which form a most agreeable shade from the summer's burning sun, and yet do not obstruct any great extent of prospect, the country is so extremely flat. One thing I remarked, and which

which certainly seems at first view extraordinary, that in the great extent of country through which we had hitherto passed, from Ostend to Brussels, being sixty-eight miles, I scarcely saw one nobleman or gentleman's seat; nothing above the house of a husbandman, a curate, or some person of small fortune: yet the country is extremely rich; and I saw many spots, as I went along, charming beyond description, and such as would tempt, I should think, a man of taste and opulence to settle in them. This must appear unaccountable to those who do not recollect, that in a country subject like this to the ravaging incursions of contending armies, fortified towns are considered as the most pleasing, because the most secure retreats of opulence.

Brussels stands on the beautiful river Senne, on the brow of a hill. This city is about seven miles in circumference, has seven gates, with extensive suburbs, and is encompassed with a double wall made of brick, and ditches; but its size is too great for strength, as a face of defence of such extent could not possibly hold out a siege—a great and insuperable defect in such a country as is here described.

Great as is the extent of ground on which this city stands, it is nevertheless very well built, and extremely populous. It is ornamented with no fewer than seven squares, all of them remarkably fine, particularly the great square or market-place, which is perhaps the finest in Europe. Around it are the halls of the different trades, the fronts of which are adorned, in a superb manner, with emblematical sculpture, with gilding, and a variety of Latin inscriptions. One quarter of this square is entirely occupied by the noble houses, a splen-

did pile of building, in which there were apartments where the states of Brabant met, finely adorned with tapestry in gilt frames, and some admirable original paintings.

As the time of his departure from Brussels approached, he found the bitter sensations with which he left London, in some measure returning. His fortunate encounter with General Lockhart had afforded him a temporary respite; but now he was once more to face an unknown country alone, without the chance of again meeting a friend to solace his mind, or mitigate his woe, on this side of India.

Having seen as much of Brussels as his time and occasions would allow, he determined to push forward as fast as it was possible, and took that for Liege, where he arrived, after passing through a beautiful, fertile, well-cultivated country, to the charms of which the renewed agony of his feelings rendered him almost insensible.

The imperial city of Aix-la-Chapelle, by the Germans called Achen, lies at the distance of twenty-six miles, nearly east, of Liege. As it was a moderate stage, the weather fine, and the face of the country around beautiful, he found his journey extremely pleasant, and entered that famous city in as good a disposition to be pleased with it, as circumstances and reflections so melancholy as his might be supposed to allow.

Perhaps no city in Germany has a fairer claim to antiquity than Aix-la-Chapelle; for it was famous, even in the time of the ancient Romans, for its waters, and was by them called Aquisgratum, or Urbs Aquensis. It was desolated by the Huns, who destroyed and trampled under foot every vestige of refinement, wherever they

carried their conquests; and it lay in ruins till it was rebuilt by Charlemagne, who made it the seat of his empire on this side the Alps. By him it was ordained, that the kings of the Romans should be crowned there; and it has been famous, since that time, for councils and treaties, particularly that celebrated one between France and Spain in 1663, and another between France and Great Britain in 1748.

But what, above all things, renders Aix-la-Chapelle worthy of notice, is the salubrity of its waters, which bring from England, and all other European nations, a vast concourse of valetudinarians, who contribute at once to the gaiety and opulence of the city and adjacent country. Some of these waters are used for drinking, and others for bathing, resembling very much, in their quality, the virtues of those of Bath in Somersetshire; but some of them are still hotter and stronger.

Bidding adieu to the famous city of Aix-la-Chapelle, he pushed on, and soon arrived at Juliers, the capital of a duchy of that name, fifteen miles from Aix. The country itself is wonderfully fruitful, teeming with abundance of all sorts of corn, wood pasture, woad, coal, and cattle; above all, a most excellent breed of horses of which great numbers are exported.

Quitting Juliers, and travelling over a very even road, and a country extremely flat, he arrived at Cologne, the capital, not only of the archbishopric of that name, but of the circle of the Lower Rhine. His spirits, which were not in the very best tone, Captain Campbell describes as not at all raised on entering the city, by the ringing of church-bells, of all tones and sizes, in every

quarter

quarter. Being a stranger, he thought it had been a rejoicing day ; but, on enquiry, found that it was the constant practice.

From Cologne he proceeded to the town of Bonne, which is said to take its name from the pleasantness of its situation. Here the elector resides, and has a very fine palace. The country around is extremely fruitful and pleasant, and is blessed with most of the good things which render the rich magnificent and happy, and remind the poor of their inferiority and wretchedness.

To go from Bonne to Frankfort, there are two ways, one over the mountains of Wetterania, the other up the river Rhine. Our traveller made no hesitation to adopt the latter, and was rewarded for his choice with a view of as fine a country, inhabited by as fine a race of people, as he had ever seen. Valleys filled with herds, plains enamelled with corn fields, and hills covered with vineyards, regaled the eye, and conveyed to the mind all the felicitating ideas of plenty, natural opulence, and true prosperity. His anxiety, however, to get forward, and to disengage himself from a species of solitude in a country where, though travelling is cheap, accommodations of most kinds in the public-houses are bad, induced him to push on, without taking the time necessary for making accurate observations on the country as he passed ; so that, gliding as it were, imperceptibly through a number of towns, of which he collects nothing distinctly but the names of Coblentz and Mentz, he arrived at the great, free, and imperial city of Frankfort on the Maine.

The country about Frankfort is delightful, rich, and fruitful, and watered by the beautiful river Maine, which divides the city into two

parts. The city itself is large, populous, and rich, and distinguished for being the place where the emperor and king of the Romans is elected ; though, by the appointment of Charlemagne, Cologne has a superior claim to that honour. The magistrates, and great part of the inhabitants, are Lutherans or Calvinists ; notwithstanding which, most of the churches are in the hands of the Roman Catholics ; a laudable instance of the true tolerant spirit of a wise and virtuous institution, and a heavy reflection upon, as well as a noble example to, the Popish powers of Europe.

From Frankfort to Augsburgh, our traveller passed through a number of towns, all of them very inconsiderable. The way lies from the Palatinate through the circle of Suabia. In the extreme end of the Palatinate, and immediately before entering the duchy of Wirtemberg, the country is covered with fir-trees ; and money he describes as so scarce in it, that a loaf of wheaten bread, weighing eight pounds, costs but twopence.

The city of Augsburgh is the capital of a bishopric of that name, in the circle of Suabia, and is worthy of the attention of the classical traveller for its antiquity. About twelve years before the birth of Christ, Augustus Cæsar subdued all this country, and, on the place where Augsburgh now stands, formed a colony, gave the town the name of Augusta Vindelicorum, and put it under the government of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, afterwards emperor of Rome. But, ancient though it be, it has little more of antiquity to entitle it to notice than the bare name ; for it has been pillaged so often, particularly by that monster Attila,

le, that there are scarcely any remains of its antiquity to be found.

Augsburgh is now, however, a handsome city; the public buildings in general magnificent, and adorned with fountains, water engines of a curious construction, and statues. On the whole, it is a most agreeable place to live in. "Touched," says Captain Campbell, "with the sensations natural to a man who loves to see his fellow creatures happy, for happy here, indeed, the inhabitants seemed, my heart expanded to a system of peace and harmony, comprehending the whole globe: my mind expatiated involuntarily on the blessings and advantages derived from such a system; and, taking flight from the bounds of practicability, to which our feeble nature is pinned on this earth, into the regions of fancy, had created a fabric of Utopian mold, which, I verily believe, exceeded in extravagance the works of all the Utopian architects that ever constructed castles in the air.

"Hurried on by this delightful vision, my person paid an involuntary obedience to my mind; and the quickness of my pace increasing with the impetuosity of my thoughts, I found myself, before I was aware of it, within the chapel-door of the convent of the Carmelites. Observing my error, I suddenly turned about, in order to depart, when a friar, a goodly person of a man, elderly, and of a benign aspect, called me, and, advancing towards me, asked, in terms of politeness, and in the French language, why I was retreating so abruptly: I was confused; but truth is an enemy before whom confusion ever flies; and I told him the whole of my mistake, and the thoughts from which it arose.

" The good father, waving farther discourse on the subject, but with a smile which I thought carried a mixture of benevolence for myself, and contempt for my ideas, brought me through the church, and shewed me all the curiosities of the place.

" Quitting the chapel, and going toward the refectory, the friar stood, and, looking at me with a smile of gaiety, said ' I have yet something to shew you, which, as it will make its way with more force and subtilty to your senses, than those you have yet seen, will be likely to be longer retained in remembrance.'

" He spoke a few words in German, to a vision bearing the shape of a human creature, who, I understood, was a lay-brother ; and, turning down a long alley, brought me to his cell, where we were soon followed by the afore said lay-brother, with a large earthen jug of liquor, two glasses, and a plate with some delicately white biscuit.

" You must know," said the friar, " that the convent of Carmelites at Augsburgh has for ages been famed for beer unequalled in any part of the world ; and I have brought you here to have your opinion ; for, being an Englishman, you must be a judge, the Britons being famed for luxury, and a perfect knowledge of the *sçavoir-vivre*." He poured out, and drank to me : it looked more like the clearest champagne than beer. I never tasted any thing to equal it ; and he seemed highly gratified by the expressions of praise which I lavished upon it.

" After we had drank a glass each, " I have been reflecting," said the friar, " on the singular flight of fancy that directed your steps into this convent

convent. Your mind was diseased, my son ! and a propitious superintending Power has guided your steps to a physician, if you will but have the goodness to take the medicine he offers."

" I stared with visible marks of astonishment.

" You are surprised," continued he ; " but you shall hear ! When first you disclosed to me those sickly flights of your mind, I could on the instant have answered them : but you are young—you are an Englishman—two characters impatient of reproof : the dogmas of a priest, I thought, therefore, would be sufficiently difficult to be digested of themselves, without any additional distaste caught from the chilling austerity of a chapel."

" I looked unintentionally at the earthen jug, and smiled."

" It is very true," said he, catching my very inmost thoughts from the expression of my countenance, " it is very true ! good doctrine may, at certain times, and with certain persons, be more effectually enforced under the cheering influence of the social board, than by the authoritative declamation and formal sanctity of the pulpit ; nor am I, though a Carmelite, one of those who pretend to think, that a thing in itself good, can be made bad by decent hilarity, and the animation produced by a moderate and wise use of the goods of this earth."

" I was astonished"—

" You fell into a reverie," continued he, " produced by a contemplation of the happiness of a society existing without any difference, and where no human breath should be wasted on a sigh, no ear tortured with a groan, no tears to trickle, no griefs or calamities to wring the heart."

" Yes,

"Yes, father!" said I, catching the idea with my former enthusiasm; "that would be my wish—that my greatest, first desire."

"Then seeest thou," interrupted he, "the extent of thy wish, suppose you could realize it, which, thank God! you cannot."

"What! thank God that I cannot? are these your thoughts?"

"Yes my son; and they will be yours too."

"Impossible!"

"Hear me, my son!—Is not death a horrible precipice to the view of human creatures?"

"Assuredly," said I; "the most horrible—human laws declare that, by resorting to it for punishment, as the ultimatum of all terrible inflictions."

"When, then," said he, "covered as we are with misery, to leave this world is so insupportable to the human reflection, what must it be, if we had nothing but joy and felicity to taste of in this life? Mark me, child!" said he, "with an animated zeal that gave an expression to his countenance beyond any thing I had ever seen: "the miseries, the calamities, the heart-rendings, and the tears, which are so intimately interwoven by the great artist in our natures as not to be separated in a single instance, are in the first place our security of a future state, and in the next place serve to slope the way before us, and, by a gradual operation, fit our minds for viewing with some sort of fortitude, that hideous chasm that lies between us and that state—death. View those miseries, then, as the special acts of mercy and commiseration of a beneficent Creator, who, with every calamity, melts away a link of that earthly chain that fetters our wishes to this dis-

with the world. Accept his blessings and his goods when he sends them, with gratitude and enjoyment: receive his afflictions too, with as joyous acceptance, and as hearty gratitude. Thus, and not otherwise, you will realize all your Utopian rights of desire, by turning every thing to matter of comfort, and living contented with dispensations which you cannot alter, and, if you could, would most certainly alter for the worse."

"I sat absorbed in reflection—the friar, after some pause, proceeded—

"Errors arising from virtuous dispositions and the love of our fellow-creatures, take their complexion from their parent motives, and are virtuous. Your wishes, therefore, my son! though erroneous, merit reward, and I trust will receive from that Being who sees the recesses of the heart; and if the truths I have told you have not failed to make their way to your understanding, your adventure of to-day impresses this incontrovertible maxim on your mind—so limited is man, so imperfect in his nature, that the extent of his virtue borders on vice, and the extent of his wisdom on error."

"I thought he was inspired; and, just as he came to the last period, every organ of mine was placed to take in his words."

"'Tis well, my son!" said he, "I perceive you like my doctrine: then, changing his manner of speaking, his expressive countenance the whole time almost anticipating his words, take some more of it," said he gaily, pouring out a glass. I pleaded the fear of inebriety. "Fear not," said he; "the beer of this convent never hurts the intellect."

"Our conversation continued till near dinner-time;

time; for I was so delighted, I scarcely knew how to snatch myself away: such a happy mixture of piety and pleasantry, grave wisdom and humour, I had never met. At length, the convent-bell tolling, I rose: he took me by the hand, and, in a tone of the most complacent admonition, said, "Remember, my child! as long as you live, remember the Convent of the Carmelites; and in the innumerable evils that certainly await you, if you are to live long, the words you have heard from old friar Augustine will afford you comfort."

"Father!" returned I, "be assured I carry away from you a token that will never suffer me to forget the hospitality, the advice, or the politeness of the good father Augustine. Poor as I am in natural means, I can make no other return than my good wishes, nor leave any impression behind me: but as my esteem for you, and perhaps my vanity, make me wish not to be forgotten, accept this, (a seal ring, with a device in hair, which I happened to have on my finger); and whenever you look at it, let it remind you of one of those, I dare say innumerable, instances, in which you have contributed to the happiness and improvement of your fellow-creatures."

"The good old man was affected, took the ring, and attended me to the convent gate, pronouncing many blessings, and charging me to make Augsburgh my way back again to England if possible, and take one glass more of the convent ale."

"Leaving Augsburgh," continues Captain Campbell, "I travelled through Bavaria a long way before I reached the Tyrol country, of the natural beauty of which I had heard much, and which I therefore entered with great expectation

of that sublime gratification the beauties of nature never fail to afford me. I was not disappointed; indeed, my warmest expectations were exceeded."

The first thing that strikes a traveller from Bavaria, on entering it, is the fort of Cherink, built between two inaccessible rocks, which separate Tyrol from the bishopric of Freisingen. So amply has nature provided for the security of this country against the incursion of an enemy, that there is not a pass which leads to it that is not through some narrow defile, between mountains almost inaccessible; and on the rocks and crags of those passes, the emperor has constructed forts and citadels, so advantageously placed, that they command all the valleys and avenues beneath.

After a variety of windings and turnings through mountains of stupendous height and awful aspect, he began to descend, and entered the most delightful valley he had ever beheld—deep, long, and above a mile in breadth—surrounded with enormous piles of mountains, and diversified with the alternate beauties of nature and cultivation, so as to form an union rarely to be met with, and delight at once the eye of the farmer, and the fancy of him who has a true taste for rural wildness. From the heights, in descending, the whole appeared in all its glory; the beautiful Inn gliding through it longitudinally, its banks studded with the most romantic little villages, while a number of inferior streams were winding in different courses, and hastening to pour their tribute into its bosom.

Munich, though a small city, is handsome and agreeable, standing in a very beautiful valley, surrounded

surrounded with mountains, which, while their lower parts are well cultivated, are capped on the tops with perennial snows. The castle, formerly the residence of the Austrian princes, is stately and magnificent, adorned within with fine paintings, and decorated without by natural and artificial fountains, statues, pleasant gardens, groves, walks, and covered galleries, leading to five different churches.

Leaving Inspruck, where nothing occurred to require mention, he proceeded on his journey, and soon entered the mountains, which are there of a terrible height. He was the best part of a day ascending them: as he got near the top, he was shewn, by his driver, the spot where Ferdinand, king of Hungary, and the emperor Charles V. met, when he returned from Africa in the year 1520. It is marked with an inscription to that effect, and has grown into a little village, which, from that circumstance, bears the name of the Salutation.

Although this mountain, called Bremenberg or Burning-hill, is covered with snow for nine months in the year, it is inhabited to the very top, and produces corn and hay in abundance. At the highest part there is a post-house, a tavern, and a chapel, where the traveller is accommodated with fresh horses, provisions, and, if he chuses, with prayers.

Just at this spot there is a spring of water which falls upon a rock, and divides into two currents, which, at a very small distance, assume the appearance, and, in fact, the magnitude to some of very large rivers. The mountain is at some times difficult to pass, at others absolutely impracticable. He was fortunate, however, in the

respect; for he got over it without any very extraordinary delay.

Although it is but thirty-five miles from Innsbruck to Brisen, it was late when he reached the latter; and as it contained nothing worth either the trouble or delay attending the search of it, he set out the next morning, and travelling with high mountains on one side, and a river all along upon the other, arrived at a town called Bolsano, in the bishopric of Trent. The country all along was thickly inhabited, and the mountains perfectly cultivated and manured even to their highest tops. On entering the valley of Bolsano, the air became sensibly sweet, delightful, and temperate; the vineyards, the trees and shrubs, olives, mulberries, willows, and roses, all marking the most luxuriant vegetation.

Bolsano is a small, yet extremely neat and pleasant, town—but nothing about it pleased him so much as their vineyards, which are planted in terraces along the sides of the hills, and are formed into the most beautiful arbors, one row above another.

From Bolsano to Trent is fifty-one miles, a good day's journey: almost the whole of it lies through the valley of Bolsano.

Trent, though not very large in circumference, is very populous. The high mountains which surround it subject it to the inclemencies of either season, rendering the air excessively hot in summer, and extremely cold in winter; besides which, they expose the town to dreadful inundations—the torrents that descend from the mountains being sometimes so impetuous as to roll large pieces of rock with them into it, and having several times wasted the whole place.

Vol. XX.

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The

The people of Trent speak promiscuously, and indifferently, both the German and Italian languages.

The next stage was Bassano, a town in the territory of Vincenza, in Italy, situated at the end of a very long narrow valley. It is watered by the river Brenta, which washes that very rich, fertile, serene, healthy, and plentiful district of Italy, so celebrated for its admirable wines, as well as for its fine pasture-ground, rich corn-fields, and prodigious abundance of game, cattle, and mulberry-trees; from all which it is called the garden and shambles of Venice.

The next day he arrived, at an early hour, at Venice.

On his approach to this place, he was much delighted with its appearance. Its stately steeples and noble buildings seemed as if just emerging from the sea, and floating on the surface of it; and it required, says he, no great stretch of fancy to imagine, that it undulated with the agitated waves of its parent, the Adriatic. On all the surrounding coasts, nature and art seemed to have vied with each other in pouring the greatest profusion of their gifts, while thousands of masts, scattered like forests over the surrounding bays, denoted that Venice, not content with her own share in the wealth and luxuries of other climes.

“ Profligate though the people of London are,” says Captain Campbell, “ I will not allow that it is so vicious a city as Venice. That there are in London, and, indeed, in all capitals, individuals who have reached the acmè of shameless debauchery and depravity, it would be foolish to deny: but that concubinage is practised in the same open way, so generally, or so systematically as at Venice, no one will venture to assert.

The

The Venetian men are well-featured and well-shaped; the women, well-shaped, beautiful, and, it is said, witty: but our traveller had that within which robbed every object of its charms. In short, not all the beauties and novelty of the place, not all the pleasures that stare the traveller in the face, and solicit his enjoyment, not all the exquisite looks of the ladies, could rouse his mind from his melancholy, or fix his attention. He grew weary of Venice before he had been many hours in it, and determined to seize the first opportunity that offered for his departure.

He had arranged, in his own mind, a plan to proceed to Latachea, a considerable sea port town in Syria, and thence to Aleppo; whence, as it was a great eastern mart, he entertained hopes that he should find a speedy, or at least a certain conveyance, by a caravan, across the deserts, to Bassorah, and little doubted but that he should find a vessel at some of the Venetian ports, either bound or belonging to a sea port of such commercial consequence, in which he could procure passage. But in this he was disappointed; for, on the fullest enquiry that he could make, he found that there was only one ship ready to sail, and no probability of any other for a considerable time after.

He did every thing he could to avail himself of this conveyance, but was disappointed, owing to a young lady being passenger, who was daughter to the owner of the vessel; and the old gentleman would not approve of an English officer being of the party with his daughter. Captain Campbell used every argument without success, urging the president, Mr. Strange, whom he describes as having

ing behaved very politely to him during his short residence at Venice, to interest himself about it.

Hearing, however, that a ship lay at Trieste, which was to sail thence for Alexandria in Egypt, he determined to embrace that opportunity, and, instead of his former intended route, go to Grand Cairo, thence to Suez, and so down the Red Sea, by way of Mecca, to Moca, and thence to Aden, where company's vessels, or India country traders are always to be found, going to one or other of the British settlements.

He accordingly set out for Trieste, with all the impatience of a sanguine mind, anxious to change place, eager to push forward, and full of the new route he had laid down, the charms of which particularly seeing Grand Cairo, the land of Egypt, and the Pyramids, were painted by his imagination in all the glowing exaggerated colours of romance. The captain of the vessel was then at Venice, and he accompanied him to Trieste, which is about sixty miles from Venice.

Soon after his arrival at Trieste, he had the mortification to learn, that the vessel was by no means likely to keep pace with the ardour of his mind, and that, owing to some unforeseen event, her departure was to be delayed; so he found it necessary to sit down, and patiently wait the revolution of time, for an event, which nothing could either impede or accelerate.

Captain Campbell had procured a servant to attend him on his journey, who, from a short observation of him, promised to contribute very considerably to his comfort, his convenience, and, indeed, to his security, as he was apparently honest, sincere, active and clever in his duty, master of several languages, and particularly of the *lingua*

Franca

Franca, a mixture of languages, peculiarly useful in travelling through the east.

Finding that he was likely to be delayed at Trieste, and conceiving that in this interim, letters from England, for which he most ardently longed, might have arrived at Venice, he imprudently and impetuously sent this servant to Venice, for the purpose of taking them up, and bringing them to him. But the reader may judge of his feelings, when he found, almost immediately after his departure, that the vessel was preparing to sail, and that he must either lose his passage or his servant. Anxious though he was to get forward, and grievous though his former delay had been to him, he hesitated which to do; but prudence, for once, prevailed over inclination; and he determined, at all events, to depart, under all the embarrassment attending the want of a servant and linguist, and all the poignant feelings of having been accessory to the disappointment, and perhaps the injury, of a poor fellow, whom he really conceived to be a person of merit.

In the passage to Alexandria, they touched at Zante, an island on the coast of Greece, belonging to Venice, and anciently called Zacynthus. It is about fifty miles in circumference, and contains fifty thousand inhabitants.

Never before had he tasted any thing equal to the delicious flavour of the fruits of this island; grapes, exquisite, and the melons and peaches of prodigious size and unequalled flavour. The island is abundantly fruitful in wine, currants, figs, and corn, but is very subject to earthquakes. Near to the sea-port which they entered, is as great a curiosity in nature as is, perhaps,

any where to be found. Two spring wells of clear fresh water throw up large pieces of real pitch, in such quantities, that, it is said, the people collect, one year with another, one hundred barrels of it, which they use in paying their shipping and boats.

At Zante he met a young lady, a native of England, extremely pretty, highly accomplished, and captivating in the extreme: she had been at Venice for her education, was a complete mistress of music, and expressed an intention of following it professionally on her arrival in England, whither she was going passenger in a vessel bound thither from Zante. Our author, with shame confesses, that he wished to take her with him to India, to which proposal she at first assented; but insuperable difficulties, fortunately for them both, prevented this rash scheme from being carried into execution.

If his pleasure, at meeting with his countrywoman, was great, his grief at parting with her was sincere. On the second day of his sojourning at Zante, he embarked with a heavy heart, and set sail for Alexandria.

On his arrival at Alexandria, he found, to his fresh mortification, that the plague was raging all over Egypt; and, as if this were not of itself sufficient to block up his intended route, an interruption of the Arabs, who, in formidable bodies infested all the roads, put a period to his hopes of seeing Grand Cairo, and viewing the curiosities of that country.

“Here,” says he, “I thought to have viewed the Pyramids, whose antiquity, origin, or intended use, have baffled the learned and ingenious enquiries of so many ages; of beholding Mount

Sinai

of Sinai, the stone of Moses, the track of the Israel-
ites, all of which are said to be clearly pointed
out, and geography, by that means, brought in to
the support of sacred history. These, and many
things, I did wish to see; they are worth it: but
I have had, since, reason to believe, that my ill-
luck was not so great as I then thought it; for
the search is dangerous, and made prodigiously
expensive by the exactions of the Mahometan
magistrates. It is as well, therefore, to travel
over this country in books, which afford us good
information, and more of it, at an easier rate
than it can be purchased in the country."

At Alexandria our traveller remained about
twelve days, till, wearied of the confined state he
was in on account of the plague, he resolved to
devise some means, if possible, to get away, and
at length hired a boat to carry him to the island
of Cyprus, from whence he concluded, that he
should find no sort of difficulty in procuring a
conveyance to Latichea, and so proceed by his
first intended route. He accordingly arrived at
Cyprus in perfect safety, where, to his great sor-
row and astonishment, he found that an epidemic
fever, equal in its effects to a plague, prevailed;
there was, however, no alternative; he must run
the risk, and he dismissed the boat that carried
him from Alexandria.

The air of this island is now for the most part
unwholesome, owing to the damps arising from
the many fens and marshes with which the coun-
try abounds; while, there being but few springs
or rivers in the island, the want of a plentiful fall
of rain at proper periods distresses the inhabitants
very much in another way; and by means of the
uncultivated state of the country, they are great-
ly

ly infested with poisonous reptiles of various kinds.

After only forty-eight hours stay at Cyprus he hired another boat, and proceeded for Latichea, a considerable sea-port town of Syria, built on a promontory of land, which, running into the sea, occasions its being continually refreshed with breezes.

Fortune, who had hitherto been not very liberal in her dispensations, now favoured him; for just as he arrived at Latichea, a caravan was preparing. The consul of the Turkish company at Cyprus received him with great politeness and hospitality, gave him a letter to the resident at Latichea; and by his instruction and assistance after a very short stay, Captain Campbell set out on his way to Aleppo with the caravan.

Mounted on a mule, then, he travelled along well pleased with the fertile appearance of the country, and delighted with the serenity of the air. They were near ten days on the road; during which time they travelled only in the morning early; and in the heat of the day repose under the shade of trees.

On his way to Aleppo, Captain Campbell was met by a Mr. ———, an English gentleman who had heard of his coming, and who, in the most kind and hospitable manner, insisted upon his living at his house instead of the British consul's, where he would otherwise have resided during his stay there; and his manner of asking him was so engaging, interesting, and impressive that the captain found it impossible to refuse him.

As the great public caravan had departed from Aleppo before his arrival, and the expence

forming a private one for his use was too great, he was travelling on his own account, and had no dispatches to authorize or enforce his departure, or bear him out in the expence, he was constrained to remain at Aleppo till some eligible mode of travelling occurred, or another public caravan was formed. This delay gave him an opportunity of seeing and informing himself of the city and surrounding country.

A distant view of Aleppo fills the mind with expectations of great splendor and magnificence. The mosques, the towers, the large ranges of houses with flat roofs, rising above each other, according to the sloping hills on which they stand, the whole variegated with beautiful rows of trees, form together, a scene magnificent, gay, and delightful: but, on entering the town, all these expected beauties vanish, and leave nothing in the streets to meet the eye, but a dismal succession of high stone walls, gloomy as the recesses of a convent or state prison. The streets themselves, not wider than some of the meanest lanes in London, overcast by the height of the private houses on either side, are rendered still more dreadfully gloomy by the solitude and silence that pervade them; while here and there a lattice toward the top, barely visible, strikes the soul with the gloomy idea of thralldom, coercion, and imprisonment.

This detestable mode of building, however, extends not to the inside of the houses, many of which are magnificent and handsome, and all admirably suited to the nature of the climate, and the domestic customs and manner of living of the inhabitants.

The mosques are extremely numerous in this city;

city; indeed, almost as much so as churches and convents in the Popish countries of Christendom. There is nothing in their external appearance, however, to attract the notice of the traveller, or indulge the eye of the architect; they are almost all of one form, an oblong quadrangle. None but Musselmén are permitted to enter them, at least at Aleppo.

The next buildings of a public kind to the mosques, that deserve to be particularly mentioned, are the caravanseras; structures which may rank, though not in splendor of appearance, at least in true value, with any to be found in the world.

Caravanseras were originally intended for, and are now pretty generally applied to, the accommodation of strangers and travellers, though, like every other good institution, sometimes perverted to the purposes of private emolument or public job. They are built at proper distances through the roads of the Turkish dominions, and afford the indigent or weary traveller an asylum from the inclemency of the weather. They are in general very large, and built of the most solid and durable materials; have commonly one story above the ground floor, the lower of which is arched, and serves for warehouses to stow goods for lodgings and for stables, while the upper is used merely for lodgings; beside which, they are always accommodated with a fountain, and have cook shops, and other conveniencies to supply the wants of the lodgers. In Aleppo the caravanseras are almost exclusively occupied by merchants, to whom they are, like other houses, rented.

The suburbs of Aleppo, and the surrounding country are very handsome, pleasant, and, to a person coming out of the gloomy city, in some respects interesting. Part, tossed about into hill and valley, lie under the hands of the husbandmen; part are covered with handsome villas; and others laid out in gardens, whither the people of Aleppo occasionally resort for amusement. The roofs of all the houses are flat, and form a composition which effectually resists the weather. On these most of the people sleep in the very hot weather; they are separated from each other by walls; but the Franks, who live contiguous to each other, and who, from their agreeable circumstances with regard to the Turks, are under the necessity of keeping up a friendly and harmonious intercourse together, have doors of communication, which are attended with these fortunate and pleasing advantages, that they can make a large circuit without descending into the streets, and can visit each other during the plague, without running the risk of catching the infection by going among the natives.

There is in this city a castle which the natives receive to be a place of great strength. It could, however, withstand the shock of a few pieces of ordnance for a day. It is esteemed a favour to be permitted to see it; and there is nothing to recompense one for the trouble of obtaining permission, unless it be the prospect of the surrounding country, which, from the battlements, is extended and beautiful.

Near this castle stands the seraglio, a large old building, where the bashaw of Aleppo resides; the whole of it seems to be in very bad repair, considering

considering the importance of the place. It is surrounded by a strong wall of great height: beside which, its contiguity to the castle is very convenient; as, in case of popular tumults, or intestine commotions, the bashaw finds an asylum in the latter, which commands and overawes the city, and is never without a numerous garrison under the command of an aga.

Aleppo, in short, mean though it is, when compared with the capitals of European countries, is certainly the third city for splendor, magnificence, and importance, in the vast extent of the Ottoman empire; Constantinople and Grand Cairo only excelling it in those points, and no other bearing any sort of competition with it.

Captain Campbell's description of an eastern caravan, though not entirely new to the reader of voyages and travels, is yet sufficiently interesting to be retained.

The caravan is an assemblage of travellers partly pilgrims, partly merchants, who collect together, in order to consolidate a sufficient force to protect them, in travelling through the hideous wilds and burning deserts over which they are constrained to pass for commercial and other purposes; those wilds being infested with Arabs who make a profession of pillage, and rob in most formidable bodies.

As the collection of such a number of passengers requires time, and the embodying of them is a serious concern, it is concerted with great care and preparation, and is never attempted without the permission of the prince in whose dominions it is to be formed, and of those through whose dominions it is to pass, expressed in writing. The exact numbers of men and ca-

It is in caravans, mules, horses, and other beasts of burthen, are specified in the licence; and the merchants to whom the caravan belongs, regulate and direct every thing appertaining to its government and police during the journey, and appoint the various officers necessary for conducting it.

Each caravan has four principal officers: the first, the caravanbachi, or head of the caravan; the second, the captain of the march; the third, the captain of the stop or rest; and the fourth, the captain of the distribution.

The first of these has the uncontrollable authority and command over all the others, and gives them his orders; the second is absolute during the march; but his authority immediately ceases on the stopping or encamping of the caravan, when the third assumes his share of the authority, which he exerts during the time of its remaining at rest: and the fourth orders the disposition of every part of the caravan, in case of an attack or battle. This last officer has also, during the march, the inspection and direction of the distribution of provisions, which is conducted, under his management by several inferior officers, who are obliged to give security to the master of the caravan.

A fifth officer of the caravan is the pay-master or treasurer, who has under him a great many clerks and interpreters, appointed to keep accurate journals of all the material incidents that occur upon the route. And it is by these journals, signed by the superior officers, that the owners of the caravan judge whether they have been well or ill served or conducted.

Another kind of officers are the mathematicians, without whom no caravan will presume to

set out. There are commonly three of these attached to a caravan of large size; and they perform the offices both of quarter-masters and aides-de-camp, leading the troops when the caravan is attacked, and assigning the quarters where the caravan is appointed to encamp.

The day of the caravan setting out, being once fixed, is never altered or postponed; so that no disappointment can possibly ensue to any one.

One would suppose that so enormous and powerful a body, so well armed, might be certain of moving forward without fear of being robbed; but most of the Arabian princes have no other means to subsist but by their robberies, they keep spies in all parts, who give them notice when the caravan sets out, which they waylay, and sometimes attack with superior force, overpower them, plunder them of all their treasure, and make slaves of the whole convoy—foreigners excepted, to whom they generally shew more mercy. If they are repulsed, they generally come to some agreement; the conditions of which are pretty well observed, especially if the assailants are native Arabians. The carrying on of robberies with such armies may appear astonishing; but when the temptation is considered, and when it is known, that one caravan alone is sometimes enough to enrich those princes, much of our surprise vanishes.

Great precautions are necessary to prevent the caravan from introducing that dreadful distemper, called the plague, into the places through which they pass, or from being themselves infected with it. When therefore they arrive near a town, the inhabitants of the town and the people of the caravan hold a solemn conference concerning the state of their health, and very sincerely communi-

state to each other the state of the case, candidly declaring whether there be danger on either side. When there is reason to suspect any contagious distemper, they amicably agree, that no communication whatever shall take place between them; and if the caravan stands in need of provisions, they are conveyed to them, with the utmost caution, over the walls of the town.

The fatigues, hardships, and hazards, attending these caravans, are so great, that they certainly would never be undertaken, if the amazing profits did not in some measure counterbalance them. The merchant who travels in them must be content with such provisions as he can get, must part with all his delicacies, and give up all hope of ease; he must submit to the frightful confusion of languages and nations; the fatigues of long marches over sands, and under a climate almost sufficiently hot to reduce him to a cinder: he must submit cheerfully to exorbitant duties fraudulently levied, audacious robberies and subtle tricks practised by the herd of vagabonds, who follow the caravans—for preventing which, the merchants have a variety of well-contrived locks, that can only be opened by those who know the track of them.

But in some tracks of caravans there are dangers, and horrible ones, against which no human foresight or power can provide, and beneath which whole caravans sink, and are never after heard of.

The Egyptian caravans are particularly subject to hazards in the horrid tracks they are necessarily obliged to take through sandy deserts, where, for boundless extents, nature has denied one single circumstance of favour; where a blade of grass

never grew, nor a stream of water never ran; where the scorching fire of the sun has banished the kindly influence of the other elements; where, for several days journey, no object meets the eye to guide the parched traveller in his way; and where the casual track of one caravan is closed by the moving sands, before another can come to take advantage of it. In those vast plains of burning sands, if the guide should happen to lose his way, the provision of water, so necessary to carry them to the place where they are to find more, must infallibly fail them: in such case, the mules and horses die with fatigue and thirst, and even the camels, notwithstanding their extraordinary power to subsist without water, soon perish in the same manner, together with the people of the caravan, wandering in those frightful deserts.

But more dreadful still, and still more inevitable, is the danger when a south wind happens to rise in those sandy deserts. The least mischief it occasions is, to dry up the leathern bags which contain the provision of water for the journey. This wind, to which the Arabs give the epithet of poisoned, often stifles in a moment those who have the misfortune to meet it; to prevent which, they are obliged to throw themselves immediately on the ground, putting their faces close to the burning sands, which surround them on all sides, and covering their mouths with some linen cloth, lest by breathing they should swallow instantaneous death, which this wind carries with it wherever it extends. Beside which, whole caravans are often buried under moving hills of burning sand, raised by the agitation of the winds.

Yet, notwithstanding all these horrible circumstances of terror and danger—trade, and the desire of gain, on the one hand, induce multitudes of people to run the hazard; and, on the other, enthusiasm and religious zeal send thousands to tempt their fate, and to seek a passage to heaven through these horrid regions.

The caravans are generally so ordered as to arrive at Mecca about forty days after the Fast of Ramedan, and immediately previous to the Corban, or great sacrifice.

Five or six days before that festival, the three great caravans, viz. that from Europe, that from Asia Minor, and that from Arabia, unite; and all, consisting of about two hundred thousand men, and three hundred thousand beasts of burthen, encamp at some miles from Mecca. The pilgrims form themselves into small detachments, and enter the town to arrange the ceremonies preparatory to the great sacrifice. They are led through a street of continual ascent, till they arrive at a gate on an eminence, called the Gate of Health. From thence they see the great mosque, which incloses the house of Abraham. They salute it with the most profound respect and devotion, repeating twice, "Salam Alek Iruful Allah!" that is to say, "Peace be with the Ambassador of God!" Thence, at some distance, they mount five steps to a large platform faced with stone, where they offer up their prayers; they then descend on the other side of it, and advance toward two arches, of the same kind of dimensions, but at some distance from each other, through which they pass with great silence and devotion. This ceremony must be performed seven times.

Hence, proceeding to the great mosque which incloses the house of Abraham, they enter the mosque, and walk seven times round the little building contained within it, saying, "This is the house of God, and of his servant Abraham." Then kissing, with great veneration, a black stone, said to have descended white from heaven, they go to the famous well, called Zun Zun, which the angel shewed to Hagar when she was distressed in the desert, and could find no water for her son Ishmael, and which the Arabs call Zem Zem. Into this well they plunge with all their clothes, repeating, "Toba Alla! Toba Alla!" that is to say, "Forgiveness, God! Forgiveness, God!" They then drink a draught of that foetid, turbid water, and depart.

This duty of bathing and drinking, they are obliged to pass through once; but those who would gain paradise before the others, must repeat it once a day during the stay of the caravan at Mecca.

At fifteen miles from the town of Mecca there is a hill called Ghiabal Arafata, or the Mount of Forgiveness. It is about two miles in circumference, and a most delicious spot. On it Adam and Eve are fabled to have met, after the Lord had, for their transgressions, separated them forty years. Here they cohabited, and lived in excess of happiness, having built a house on it, called Beith Adam, that is to say, The House of Adam.

On the eve of the day of sacrifice, the three caravans, ranged in a triangular form, surround this mountain; during the whole night, the people rejoice, clamour and riot, firing off cannon, muskets, pistols and fire-works, with incessant sound of drums and trumpets. As soon as day breaks, a profound silence succeeds, and they lay their

their sheep, and offer up their sacrifice on the mountain, with every demonstration of the most profound devotion.

On a sudden, a scheik rushes from amidst them, mounted on a camel; he ascends five steps, rendered practicable for the purpose, and in a studied sermon addresses the people; after which they salute the mountain and depart.

During my stay at Aleppo, says Captain Campbell, I experienced much politeness and hospitality from the European gentry resident there, and particularly from Mr. —, before mentioned, at whose house I entirely resided; and as the Franks live on a very good footing with each other, the time passed so agreeably, that, were it not for "that within," I should have been happy enough. We rode out occasionally, sometimes hunting, sometimes merely for the ride's sake. Sometimes with an intelligent native, whom I got to walk with me; or with some of the Franks, I walked about the town, in order to amuse the time, and see what was going forward, notwithstanding the cry of "Frangi Cucu!" or, "Cuckold Frank!" which frequently followed us for the length of a street. Sometimes we went in an evening to some of the outlets, where preparation was made for our reception by servants, previously dispatched for the purpose, and there regaled with coffee, wine, and fruits.

The first day we went on a party of the last-mentioned kind, Mrs. — did us the honour to accompany us: the place appointed was in a range of beautiful rural gardens, that lie along the side of a river; where the well-cultivated earth, teeming with a vast abundance of the best esculent plants, flowers, flowering shrubs, and fruit-trees, afforded

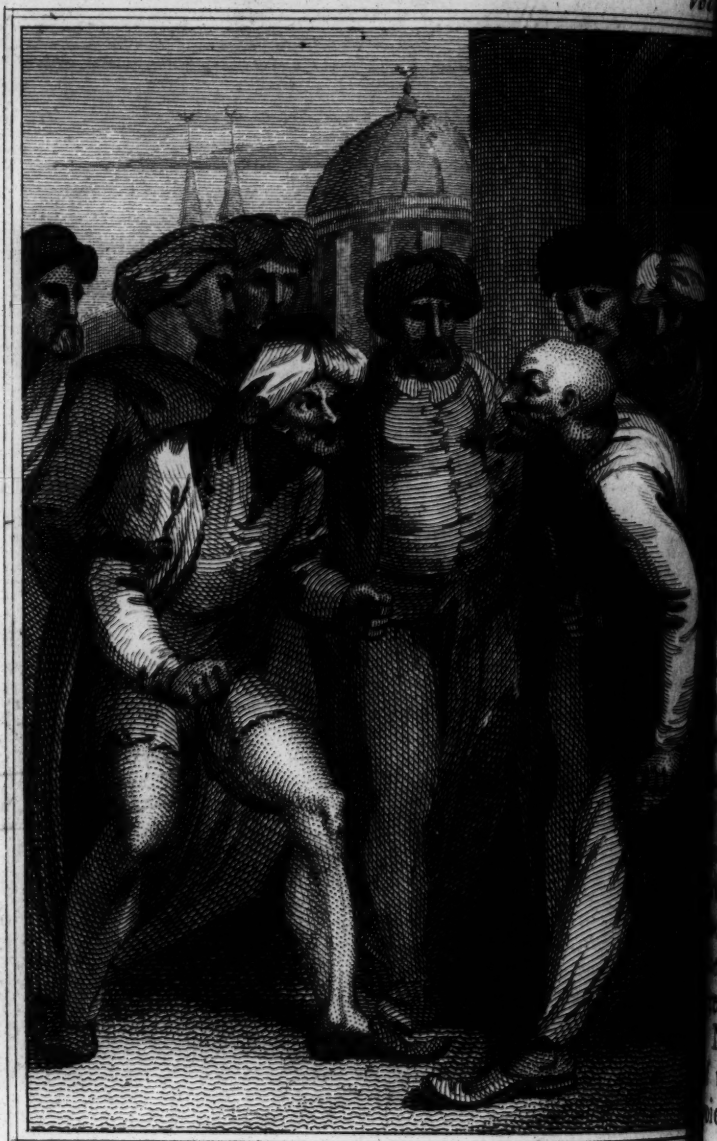
ed a most delicious regale to the senses ; and the plane, the willow, the ash, the pomegranate, and a variety of other trees, clustered together in almost impervious thickets, yielded a delightful shady retreat from the piercing rays of the sun.

It was on this occasion that I had the first specimen of Turkish illiberality, which, as I was entirely unprepared for it, confounded me, and nearly deprived me of temper and of prudence. As we walked along, I observed several Turks addressing themselves to Mrs. — and me, who walked arm in arm, and speaking with a loudness of voice, contortion of countenance, and violence of gesticulation, attended with a clapping of hands, which, though I did not understand their language, I could plainly perceive carried the appearance of menace or insult. I was at a loss what to think of it: Mrs. — blushed, and seemed much hurt: Mr. — and the other gentlemen were silent, and betrayed not the least mark of emotion or resentment. At length, when we got from them, I asked what it meant; and was told, that it was all aimed at Mrs. —, or at least, occasioned by her: that, bigoted to the customs of their own country, and utterly ignorant of those of any other, they were affected with great indignation at her dress, occasional derangement of her veil, and, above all, at the shameless and unpardonably wicked circumstance of a woman walking so openly and familiarly in the company of men.

Talking of this affair afterwards with Mr. —, the lady's husband, he assured me that there was not an opprobrious and infamous epithet which the vulgar ingenuity of the brightest queen in Billingsgate could think of, that they had not huddled

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Kirk del.

Turkish quarrel in the Streets of Constantinople

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addled upon us. I was beyond measure astonished at the coolness with which he bore it, and said, that if I had understood what they said, I should most certainly have been unable to restrain myself, and would have knocked one of them down as an example to the rest. Had you done so, returned he, you would certainly have repented it; for if you escaped being stoned, or put to death upon the spot, the legal punishment for an infidel striking a true believer, you could not escape; and probably we, and all the Franks in the city, would have suffered for it: it would, at all events, have caused a dreadful convulsion in the place, and you yourself would have fallen a sacrifice to it.

Our traveller, with considerable humour, details the process of a Turkish broil, or street-battle, which he describes as one of the most ludicrous exhibitions in the world. The parties approach each other and retreat mutually, as the action of the one gives hope to the other of victory, lifting their hands and flourishing them in the air, as ready to strike every moment, grinning and gnashing their teeth, while their beard and whiskers, besprent with the spume of their mouths, and wagging with the quick motion of their lips and ghastly contortions of their jaws, present the most ridiculous spectacle imaginable. Nothing, in fact, can exceed the extravagance of their gesture, the vehement loudness of their voice, or the whimsical distortions of their countenances, in which are displayed sometimes the thickest vicissitudes of fear and fury, and sometimes the most laughable combination of both. All this time, however, not a single blow is actually struck; but they compensate for the want of bodily prowess by the exercise of the tongue, denouncing vengeance

geance against each other, threatening instant demolition, lavishing every bitter reproach, every filthy epithet, and every horrible imprecation that they can think of, and both boasting occasionally of their patience and forbearance, which fortunately enabled them to refrain from annihilating their adversary. At last the fray gradually decays: exhausted with fatigue, and half choked with dust and vociferation, they retreat gradually backwards to their own doors; where, summing up all their malignity into a most horrid execration, they part for the time, and retire to vaunt in empty threat, and growl away their rage in the recesses of their haram.

A French gentleman, who had been friendly enough to escort Captain Campbell through the town, and to shew him what was considered as most worthy of observation, either as matter of amusement or curiosity, one day led him into a coffee-house, where they saw a number of people, some seated in the Turkish fashion, some on low stools, and some standing; and in the middle a man walking to and fro, speaking in an audible voice, sometimes slowly, sometimes with rapidity, varying his tones occasionally, with all the inflexions of a corresponding sense. "I could not," says Captain Campbell, "understand him, but he seemed to me to speak with 'good emphasis and good discretion:' his action was easy to him, though expressive and emphatical; and his countenance exhibited strong marks of eloquent expression. I could not help staring with astonishment at a scene so new to me, and felt great approbation of the tones and manner of this extraordinary orator, though I could not understand a single word he said. He was listened to by all with great attention.

tion, and even the Turks frequently betrayed strong symptoms of risibility: but in the height and torrent of his speech he broke suddenly off, scampered out of the door, and disappeared. I let it down, that he was a maniac, or lunatic, of an ingenious kind, and was for going away. "Stay," says my friend, "rest where you are for a few minutes; let us hear farther."

The orator had scarcely been gone three minutes when the room was filled with a buzz of conversation, not one word of which could I understand, but which my guide listened to very attentively. At length, the buzz began to grow loud, and soon increased into clamour; when a scene ensued of so very ludicrous a kind, as forced me to cram my handkerchief into my mouth to suppress a laugh, or at least so to stifle it as to avoid observation. In short, they were disputing violently. I became convulsed with mirth; and my friend, seeing that I was likely to give offence, took me under the arm and hurried me out of the coffee-house: we retired into a porch in the caravanserai, where I gave vent to my suppressed laughter, till my sides were sore, and my eyes ran tears.

In the name of God, my friend, said I, tell me what is the meaning of all that extravagant scene which we have just now been witnesses? Who is that madman that spoke so much? and why did they all quarrel after he went away?

"Come, come," said he, "let us retire to my house, and I will there explain the whole of it to you, from beginning to ending."

I accordingly accompanied him home, where I found a very gay circle assembled, to whom he described my astonishment; recounting my immoderate

moderate laughter, till they all laughed very nearly as immoderately as myself.—“ You must know,” said he, addressing himself to me, “ that he, whom you took to be a madman, is one of the most celebrated composers and tellers of stories in Asia, and only wants the aid of printing, to be, perhaps, as eminent in reputation for making contes, as Marmontel, or Madame D’Anois. As we passed along, I heard his voice, and knowing it, resolved to let you see him, and brought you in for the purpose. He was entertaining the company with a very curious, interesting, and comical story; the subject of which was avarice; the hero a miser of the name of Cassim. His misery and avarice are represented in it as bringing him into a variety of scrapes, which waste his wealth; and his character is drawn with such strength of colouring, and marked with such grotesque lines of humour—he related it, moreover, with so much wit, in such admirable language, and embellished and enforced it with such appropriate action, utterance and emphasis, that it riveted, as you saw, the attention of all his auditors, and extorted laughter even from Turkish gravity.”

But how came he to break off so suddenly? said I.

“ That,” returned my friend, “ is a part of the art of his profession, without which he could not live: just as he gets to a most interesting part of the story, when he has wound the imagination of his auditors up to the highest climax of expectation, he purposely breaks off to make them eager for the rest. He is sure to have them all the next day, with additional numbers, who come on their report, and he makes his terms to finish the story.”

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Why then, interrupted I, why did they who remained behind fall disputing?

"That I will explain to you," said he. "Just as he broke off, Cassem the miser, having already suffered a thousand whimsical misfortunes and dissipations of fortune, is brought before the Cadi for digging in his garden, on the presumption that he was digging for treasure. As soon as the historian was gone, they first applauded him, and then began to discuss his story, which they, one and all, agreed in praising highly: and when they came to talk of the probable issue of the sequel of it, there were almost as many opinions as there were men in the company; each maintained his own, and they went to loggerheads, as you saw about it—when the chance is a thousand to one, that not one of them was near the mark. One in particular surmised, that Cassem would be married to the Cadi's daughter; which gave great offence to some, and roused another of the company to declare, that he was well assured in his conscience, that Cassem would be brought to the bastinado, or the stake, or else hanged, in the sequel."

And is it possible, said I, that a group of twenty or thirty rational beings can be so far bereft of common sense, as to dispute upon the result of a contingency, which absolutely depends on the arbitrary fancy of an acknowledged fabricator of falsehoods?

C'est vrai, Monsieur! and thereby they demonstrate the power of the poet; and *entre nous*, I doubt not whether it is not more rational, as well as more fair, to dispute what the *dénouement* ought to be before, than after the inventor of the piece has disposed of it, as is the practice with us.

When he has once finished his fable, you will find them all content, and the voice of criticism silent. Now in France, or England, our critics lie *perdue*, in order to attack the poet, let him finish his performance how he may. But you will recollect, Monsieur, that in Turkey, criticism is the honest spontaneous issue of the heart; and with us is a trade, where sometimes lucre, sometimes vanity, but, oftener than both, envy and malice, direct the decision, and dispose to censure and censure.

"But we will go again to-morrow," continued he, "probably he will be there to conclude, or proceed farther with his story;" I agreed to this, and we parted.

On the next day we went, and not seeing the orator in his place, lounged about the caravan-serai, and going to another coffee-house, found him demanding with all his might. My friend told me that the story he was now on was quite different from the former: however, we watched his motions so effectually, that we got the conclusion of the story of Cassim, which completely disappointed the prognostics of the two conflicting Turkish critics; for Cassim was neither bastinadoed, staked, nor hanged, nor married to the Cadi's daughter; but lived to see, that extremeavarice was folly; and to be sensible, that to make the proper use of the goods of this life, is to enjoy them.

My French friend called on me a morning or two after this, and reminded me how highly I seemed to be entertained; said, there were often to be seen, by walking about and going into public places, a variety of things, which, however worthless and unentertaining in themselves,

light, from the novelty of their appearance, and their unlikeness to any thing seen in Europe, were either to divert by their oddity, or promote the conception of new ideas in the mind: he therefore recommended it to me, with all the zeal of a person who took an interest in my happiness, to keep on my legs and in the streets while I remained at Aleppo.

With this advice I readily complied, and we proceeded directly in quest of adventure. We proceeded, therefore, to one of the before-mentioned coffee-houses, where, as my friend observed to me, though there were no people of great rank, there was generally something to afford contemplation and amusement; and where, if nothing else occurred, the motley appearance of the company was sufficient to excite a variety of whimsical emotions, and suggest numberless ludicrous images to the imagination of an English or French man. As there was no orator at work declaiming, I had time to indulge myself with a more accurate view than I had before taken of the group that surrounded us: and surely never was ponderous gravity more ludicrously, or in more various forms, depicted by any caricaturist in the world. Here it was to be seen, in all its shadings, from the self-important nod of serious cogitation, down to the soporific aspect of solid stupidity. Not a face was moved in way of mirth, not a face disgraced with a smile, and I could not help thinking all the time, that if every nation of the earth were to take some animal for its insignia, the British assume the lion, and the Prussian the eagle, the Turks might be divided in their choice between the appropriate claims of the owl and the ass.

" Soon after we entered, a band of what they called music struck up a concert. And here again the notion of the owl and the ass struck me with increased force, as peculiarly presiding over their music: for no other combination of sounds that I know on earth, but the screeching of the one, and the braying of the other, could form any thing to resemble this concert, with which the auditory seemed vastly pleased, though I was obliged to betake myself to flight, in order to get relief from the torture it gave me. The Turks, however, as I retreated, honoured me with a few remarks, which as I did not understand, I could not precisely feel; my friend, however, told me, they were to the effect that I was *Frangi Dumus* (Frank Hog), and had no more ear than that filthy animal for music.

" Come, said my friend, don't be discouraged! —But the music—the music! interrupted I.—Well then said he, the music, or rather the sounds, were execrable, to be sure; yet they have at least served to establish this certainty, that there is nothing, however, discordant or detestable, which habit will not reconcile us to. Doubt not, said he, that the best piece of Handel or Corelli, performed by the best band in Rome, would appear as ridiculous to them, as their concert did to us.

" We visited many coffee-houses in the course of that day, in every one of which we found some thing to divert or disgust us; at length as we entered one, my friendly guide turning to me with satisfaction in his countenance, said, 'Here is something about to go forward that will please you better than the concert of music.' What is it, said I? A drama, returned he; a drama, that

you most certainly of a new and extraordinary kind; and I do assure you, that so zealous am I to procure you entertainment, I would rather than a couple of louis you could understand what is going forward: your hearty mirth and laughter, added he, are sufficient to put one in spirits. He then directed my attention to a fellow who was busily employed in erecting a stage, which he accomplished in a time incredibly short. The light of the sun was completely excluded, and a puppet-show commenced, which gave great delight to all the audience, and, ignorant as I was of the language, pleased me very much.

"I was astonished when informed that one man only spoke for all the personages of the drama, for so artfully did he change his tone of voice, that I could have sworn there had been as many people to speak, as there were characters in the piece. The images were not actually puppets, commonly so called, but shadows done in the manner of Ombres Chinoises. They were, however, far inferior to those in England, in execution and management, though the dialogue and incident evidently appeared, even to me, to be executed with a degree of the *vis comica* far superior to any I ever saw in a thing of the kind in Europe; indeed, so perfect was the whole, that though I knew not a word of the language, I comprehended clearly the plan of the piece, and many of the strokes of humour contained in the dialogue. The plan was obviously taken from a story which I have read in some of the eastern tales, I believe in the Arabian Nights Entertainment, and it is founded on the law of the country, that a man may repudiate his wife twice,

and take her back again ; but in the event of a third divorce, cannot retake her to his marriage-bed, unless she be previously married, and divorced by another man. To obviate which, husbands who repent having divorced their wives a third time, employ a man to marry them, and restore her back again ; and he who does this office is called a hullah. In the piece before us, however, the lady and the hullah like each other so well, that they agree not to separate ; the husband brings them both before the cadi, to enforce a separation ; and the scene before the cadi was as ludicrous, and as keen a satire upon those magistrates, as can well be conceived, though of the low kind.

“ The piece was introduced with a grand nuptial procession, in which the master displayed the powers of his voice by uttering a variety of the most opposite tones in the whole gamut of the human voice ; sometimes speaking, sometimes squeaking like a hurt child, sometimes huzzaing as a man, a woman, or a child ; sometimes neighing like a horse, and sometimes interspersing it with other such sounds as commonly occur in crowds, in such a manner as astonished me ; while the concomitant action of the images, grotesque beyond measure, kept up the laugh ; horses kicking and throwing their riders, asses biting those near them, and kicking those behind them, who retire limping in the most ridiculous manner ; while their great standing character in all pieces, Kara-ghuse (the same as our Punch,) raised a general roar of obstreperous mirth even from the Turks, with his whimsical action, of which I must say that, though nonsensical, though indecent

cent, and sometimes even disgusting, it was on the whole the most finished composition of low balldry and fun that I ever beheld.

When they come before the cadi, he is seated in his divan of justice; but as soon as the complaint is opened and answered, he rises and comes forward between the contending parties: here he turns to one, and demands in a terrific tone what he has to say, while the other puts cash in his hand behind, and in proportion as the cash is counted in, increases the terror of his voice; he then pockets the money, and again turns to the other, and demands what he has to offer, while in like manner he receives the bribes from his adversary, and puts it in an opposite pocket: this alternate application lasts till the purses of both are exhausted, when, giving a great groan, he returns on one side to reckon the money of each from a pocket he has on either side, one called plaintiff, and the other defendant; when, balancing them, he finds plaintiff better by one asper (or three half-pence) than defendant, and pronounces his judgment accordingly. The defendant appeals to the bashaw; they go before him: the bashaw, (punch) however, takes the defendant aside, and in a dialogue, which my friend assured me was pointed, witty, and bitterly satirical, developes to him the whole system of managerial injustice, advises him to bribe the bashaw, and offers him the aid of his purse. The advice is followed; the bribe is accepted; the cadi's decree is reversed, and himself disgraced, and the mob at once hustle him, and bear the plaintiff home to his bride with clamours of joy. Here again the master shewed his extraordinary powers, giving not only, as before, distinct and
opposite

opposite tones of voice, but huddling a number of different sounds with such skill and rapidity together, that it was scarcely possible to resist the persuasion that they were the issue of a large and tumultuous crowd of men and animals. With this extravagant medley the curtain dropped, and the performance ended.

"Returning home, we conversed together on the subject of the piece, which I confess I could not get out of my head for some time. My friend explained to me, as well as he could recollect, the great part of the dialogue, and assured me, that the freedom of speech of Monsieur Kara-ghuse had from time to time created a great deal of uneasiness, not only to private offending individuals, but to the magistracy itself, that no offender, however intrenched behind power, or entrenched in rank, could escape him, that bashaw, cadis, nay the janissaries themselves, were often made the sport of his fury; that he was not more restrained in the effusions of obscenity which he uttered, than in his satire; that he was always well received and applauded, even venerated as a bold teller of truth, who, with little mischief, did a great deal of good, and often rouses the lethargic public mind to a sense of public dangers and injuries. He added, that in some cases the magistrate had been obliged to interfere; and that bashaw himself was seriously called upon at times to stop the licentious tongue of this champion of freedom, Kara-ghuse.

"Well then," said I, "it appears upon the whole that Monsieur Kara-ghuse is a very great blackguard, but a very witty, and a very honest one."

"Yo

"You have just hit it," said he, "and if mas-
Kara-ghuse was to take such liberties in
France, Spain, Portugal, or Germany, all his wit
and honesty would not save him from punish-
ment. In England you do not want him; every-
where there is a Kara-ghuse, and every newspaper
puppet-show.

"And yet," returned I, "we complain sadly
want of liberty!"

"That is natural," returned my sagacious
Frenchman, "perfectly natural. Liberty is like
money; the more we have of it, the more covet-
ed we grow."

"Very true, Monsieur," said I, pleased with
the compliment to our happy constitution, and to
echo his observation, gave a Latin quotation,
which, when a child, I got out of Lilly's gram-
mar, *Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit;*
and then changing *nummus* for *libertas*, *Crescit*
libertatis, quantum ipsa libertas crescit."

"Tis very well, Monsieur," said he, "and to
carry on your allusion, may we not say, that they
who do not know when they have enough, are as
dangerously wrong in the one case, as those, who
when we have too much, are in the other? The
English, complaining of the want of liberty, re-
minds me of the coffee-house orator's story of
them, who, wallowing in wealth, lost it all in
the wild pursuit of more. I hope, however, that
they never will, like him, lose their stock in vain
endeavours to increase it.

While our traveller was in this manner endea-
vouring to pass away the time as cheerfully as
possible, till a caravan was formed, or company's
patches were coming over land, of which he
might avail himself, he found his situation in
the

the house of Mr. ——— growing extremely critical. That gentleman had, though fallen into the vale of years, married his lady at a very tender age. She was then young, beautiful, full of sensibility, and gifted with such natural endowments both of mind and person, as helped to dress them to advantage. Captain Campbell had not been long in the house, before he plainly perceived that they were on a very bad footing with each other, and, in short, that disagreement was become habitual to them. At first, decency enforced concealment, and the ebullitions of peevishness were stifled by the dictates of prudence; but the animosities of the connubial state are those, which, of all others, are the most impatient under controul; and, as time, by producing familiarity, relaxed restraint, the pent-up passions began to force their way, and open bickering took place in his presence.

The captain was then young; and perhaps it was owing to a congeniality pointed out by their age, perhaps to a compassionate politeness amounting to tenderness, which he always disclosed on these unhappy occasions, that the lady thought proper to take the very hazardous step of making a confidant of a young man and a soldier, and revealing to him the whole tale of her grievances, with a pathetic eloquence that would have made an impression upon a much less susceptible mind than his. Though this extraordinary mark of confidence and esteem, communicated to his heart strong sensations of unjustifiable pleasures, he so far got the better of himself at first, as to receive the whole with the same appearance of tranquillity, as if he had been only a confidential female friend. He pitied, it is true,

he expressed his pity; he advised, not treacherously, but faithfully; he said such things as occurred to him as most likely to assuage and extinguish the flame of discord, and lead to amicable adjustment; and he parted for that time with her, to go to a self approving pillow, where, while his fancy was inflamed and tickled by the flattering mark of regard shewn him by so accomplished a person, he had the soothing consciousness of having, as far as he was able, done his duty, and escaped the correcting reflection of having violated the rights of hospitality.

Not an opportunity, however, afterwards offered, that the same unhappy point was not the subject of discussion, and, unfortunately, those opportunities but too frequently occurred. From lamenting the grievances, they wished to remove them; from wishing they proceeded to consider the means; and when they had got that length, the flight was not far to the extreme end—the execution of it, and this was only by a separation from her husband. She wished for that separation, rather as a subterfuge from incessant diurnal misery, than as a prelude to any vicious or illicit enjoyment; and we looked with pleasure to the event, but we looked no farther."

Meanwhile her husband discovered their views, and all at once took the necessary measures for preventing them. So that, overwhelmed with grief and shame, for his imprudent interference, the captain directly formed the resolution to leave Aleppo, and proceed in the best manner he could to his destination.

Accordingly he applied to the British consul, who was apprized of his situation, to know if means could be contrived for his conveyance; adding,

adding, that he should consider it as a great favour, in addition to those he had already received at his hands, if he would devise some method to set him forward in his route directly.

To this the consul answered, that as the making up of a caravan would be extravagantly expensive, he knew no means that were not attended with certain hardship and eventual danger; but finding the captain determined, at almost any danger or hazard, to set off, he proposed to send for a man who knew every resource in that way, and when he came would talk farther on the business.

This person came in the evening, and after conference with the consul, was introduced to the captain, who was informed that he was a Tartar, and one of the vast number of that description, who are employed by the Turkish state in carrying dispatches from court to the various viceroys and bashaws, and interchangeably between them again; that they were men, on whose fidelity the utmost reliance could be had; and that this man, who had an excellent character, had agreed to take him to Bagdad, provided he would submit to the disguise of a Tartar.

The agreement between them was entirely submitted to the discretion of the consul, who settled it thus: the Tartar was to deliver the captain safe at Bagdad; to supply him and his servant, who acted as interpreter, with an ample sufficiency of provisions and horses on the road, to exchange his horse for him as often as he pleased, and to go at such rate, whether faster or slower, as he thought proper: for this he was to receive one hundred pounds; and the captain farther promised, as an encouragement, that if

led to his satisfaction, he would, on their arrival at Bagdad, add a *douceur* of twenty pounds. The next day he came again, and Captain Campbell had a distinct view of his future guide, and supposed master, for, in several places, the captain was to pass for his slave. "He was," says our traveller, "one of those striking *characters*, that a painter would like to take a sketch of, and methought Tartar was written legibly in every lineament of his countenance and person. He was tall, muscular, and bony; his figure bespoke great hardihood, strength, and activity; nor could the trowsers which he wore conceal the Herculean texture of his limbs; his shoulders were expanded to an enormous breadth; he was unencumbered with flesh, or, indeed, rather extremely lean; his forehead, though partly concealed beneath his turban, was very high; his nose large, hooked, sharp, and prominent; his eyes a pair of small, fierce, black, penetrating eyes, wholly separated by the nose, and a formidable pair of mustachoes, which he carefully sleeked with pomatum into a point resembling an awl-blade, and which moved like the whiskers of a spring cat, with every word he spoke, gave a comical ferocity to the countenance, beyond the reach of description, and rendered him altogether as discouraging a confidential friend, as is seldom a Christian trusted his life to, since Mahomet set up the trade of a prophet. He surveyed me with great attention; opened his mouth three or four times like a gasping pike, as if to stroke his whiskers as often; and at last pronounced that he would undertake to convert me; adding, in allusion to my black hair and dark complexion, that I looked more like a native,

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native, than any Frank he had ever seen. He ordered me to cut my hair quite short, to provide myself with a Tartar dress and cap, in the fashion of his own; and, saying he would call on me in proper time, departed."

Thus equipped they set out; but, previous to his departure, the consul did every thing that was possible for him to do, conducive to his safety and accommodation on the road, which, as they were obliged to go to the city of Diarbeker, a great length out of his way, he observed would be long dreary, fatiguing, and hazardous; he procured him from others, and gave him himself, a number of letters, and at parting, desired him to comfort himself with the reflection, that when he arrived at his journey's end, he would have to boast, that he went to India by a route never travelled by any European before.

"As I became familiarized to my Tartar guide," says Captain Campbell, "I found his character disclose much better traits than his first appearance bespoke, and I began insensibly to think him a very entertaining fellow. Perceiving that I was very low-spirited and thoughtful, he exhibited manifest marks of compassion; and taking it into his head that I was actually removed for ever from my friends and my family, he spoke in a style of regret and feeling, that did great honour to his heart: and to say the truth, he did every thing in his power to alleviate my feelings, conversing with me either by means of the interpreter, or in broken *lingua Franca*; supplying all my wants cheerfully and abundantly; changing horses with me as often as I pleased, and going slow or galloping forward just as best suited my inclination and humour."

“ The first object he seemed to have in view, on our journey was, to impress me with a notion of his consequence and authority, as a messenger belonging to the sultan. As carriers of dispatches, the power and authority of these men, wherever they go, is in some points undisputed; and they can compel a supply of provisions, horses, and attendants, wherever it suits their occasions; nor are any man resist their right to take the horse from under him to proceed on the emperor's business, be the owner's occasion ever so pressing.

“ My feelings, which were altogether of the most unpleasant kind, served as a stimulus to my mind, and increased my anxiety to get forward; therefore pushed on, as fast as the horses, which were in general excellent, could carry me; and, we halted at a number of stages to get fresh horses and provisions, my Tartar guide had frequent opportunities of indulging his self-importance, and displaying his great authority and power. As soon as he stopped at a caravansera, he immediately called lustily about him in the name of the sultan, demanding, with an imperious and menacing tone of voice, fresh horses, vicars, &c. on the instant. The terror of this great man operated like magic; nothing could exceed the activity of the men, the briskness of the women, and the terror of the children; for the caravanseras are continually attended by numbers of the very lowest classes of the people; but no sickness of preparation, no effort nor industry could satisfy my gentlemen; he would shew me his power in a still more striking point of view, and belabouring them with his whip, and kicking them with all his might. I must confess I was much hurt at this extravagant abuse of upstart

power, or rather of vanity, and was two or three times on the point of interfering; but fortunately, recollected it would neither be in character, nor have any good effect, and that if I presumed to speak, my guide would be obliged, in my defence, to give me a flogging, in order to prevent suspicion.

"It was on the fifth or sixth day (I cannot precisely say which) after our leaving Aleppo, that we got to the city of Diarbeker, the capital of the province of that name, having passed over an extent of country of between three and four hundred miles, most of it blessed with the greatest fertility, producing, in the few cultivated parts, grain, fruits of various kinds, and silk in great variety and abundance, and abounding with as rich pastures as I ever beheld, covered with numerous herds and flocks. The air was charmingly temperate in the day-time, but, to my feeling, extremely cold at night."

Yet, notwithstanding the extreme fertility of this country, the bad administration of government, conspiring with the indolence of the inhabitants, leaves it unpopulous and uncultivated. Diarbeker Proper, called also Mesopotamia, from its lying between the two famous rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and by Moses called Padan Aram, that is to say,—“the fruitful Syria;” abounds with corn, wine, oil, fruits, and all the necessities of life. It is supposed to be the seat of the earthly Paradise, and all geographers agree that it was there the descendants of Noah first settled after the flood.

The city of Diarbeker itself is situated in a delightful plain on the banks of the river Tigris, and nearly at its head; it is one of the richest

most trading, strong, and populous cities in Asiatic Turkey; and is adorned with many piazzas and market places in the Turkish style, and a large magnificent mosque, formerly a Christian church; for Christianity flourished over this country so late as the sixth century. There is even now a sect, whose patriarch still resides here: and they shew on the road near the town, a chapel where the holy man Job is said to be buried. This city is supplied amply with water by a canal cut from the Tigris, and has many caravanseras on both sides of the river.

Few countries in the world exceed that about this city for natural richness and beauty; the bread and wine are excellent; the fruit beyond conception delicious; and the Tartar took care, under pretence of supercilious *hauteur*, to tear in pieces a couple of fowls, and hand to the captain now a leg, now a wing, till he made a most delicious repast.

"Let the reader figure to himself," says Captain Campbell, "my Tartar guide, who was an admirable actor, sitting at a caravansera in state at his dinner, devouring excellent fowls, choice sallads, and delicious fruit, in as great pomp as a bashaw; and, in order to keep up the semblance of authority over me, to favour my disguise, handing to me, who sat at humble distance, a part of his provisions. Critical though my situation was, and much as I was harassed with the corrosions of mental pain, the extravagant action and ludicrous pomposity of this man, frequently overbore my prudence, and compelled me to laugh incontinently and loudly; on all such occasions he would put his hands a-kimbo, draw up his eye-brows to his turban, screw down

the corners of his mouth in the most rueful manner, and give a loud whew ! with his eyes fixed in a stare at me, till entirely overcome with laughter, and ready to sink under it, I clapped my face between my hands, and, as well as I could, bowed in token of sorrow and submission ; when threatening me vehemently, and at the same time uttering a lamentable expression of doubt, that he was afraid he had had an idiot imposed on him, he would bustle about, direct the horses to be got ready, and order me to get on horseback with many denunciations of severe treatment, and a thousand flourishes of his whip over my head.

“ As we advanced towards the southward and eastward, in our way from Diarbeker towards Bagdad, I found the air became sensibly warmer, and observed that the disposition of the people grew more and more brutal. My guide's conduct (for he knew them well) became proportionately artful, and my manners were of course to grow so much the humbler. I observed, however, that his authority continued the same, and that he seemed to exert it with greater rigour, not in severity or chastisement, but in exacting implicit obedience. Yet still he evidently acted with great caution and circumspection ; for, in some districts, he either avoided the little villages by a circuitous route, or dashed through them at a very quick pace, while the gaping multitude considered us as on a dispatch of haste and importance ; in others, he entered the towns without reserve, and left it to chance to decide whether we should be discovered or not. In some caravanferas he treated me with affected negligence, at others he made me eat with him

and drink wine, of which, in some places, he himself drank copiously, and at others as scrupulously refrained from. And sometimes we lay night out in the open air, rather than enter a town; on which occasions I found the weather piercing cold as it was distressfully hot in the day time.

"One evening we came to a caravansera much fatigued, the day being extremely hot, and we having rode very hard; whether it was caprice, or fatigue, or the suggestion of policy that moved him, I cannot say, but he certainly was more disposed to play the tyrant than I had ever before seen him. He flogged the men who took the horses, kicked every one he met, made the house ring with his enormous voice; directed supper to be got ready, ate growling, and finding fault with every thing; and under pretence of disliking the ingredients of an excellent pillaw, handed it over to me, saying, "Here, Jimmel (the name he called me), here, take this filth, and swallow it down thy coarse throat, it is only fit for a Frank." I took it with the best air of humiliation I could assume; and tearing the meat with my fingers, which I also used instead of a spoon to eat the rice, swallowed it eagerly; he watched me all the time attentively. When I had finished it, I gave him a hint in the French language, that I should like to wash it down with some wine; but he did not, or rather would not understand me.

"Supper done, he ordered a servant to attend me with some water, and directed him to wash my feet; while that operation was performing, he continued menacing every one about him. Then, turning to me with an air of magisterial tenderness,

tenderness, "Jimmel," said he, "hold forth thy feet, and let them be washed by this disciple of Ali—I say, hold forth thy feet."

"Scarcely able to refrain from laughter, at this bombardinian of the east, and his pompous manner of issuing his orders, I drew up my trowsers and took off my boots; the man brought fresh water, and fell to rubbing my feet with great good will and humility, yet evidently felt so much hurt at the humiliation, that I was sorry for it, and would rather have dispensed with the washing, though it was a luxury.

"In the midst of this operation, the Tartar, who was reclining on his cushion, smoking, rose up, and strolling two or three times across the room, with the most ludicrous air of self-conceit and importance, took his tobacco pipe from his mouth, brandished it in ostentatious parade, and in the tone and manner rather of one that was raving than of a man in his sober senses, burst out with an emphatical expression of satisfaction, and said, "This it is to be protected by a great man: Mussulmen salam to him and wash his feet."

"The extravagance of this sentiment, the absurdity of its application, and the consequential solemnity of his action and countenance, while he spoke, all together rushed upon me with such impetuous force, that I could not resist it, and, in spite of every effort to restrain myself, burst into an immoderate fit of laughter.

"Had I the pencil of Hogarth, the pen of Shakespeare, or the powers of Garrick, I might attempt to give some idea of his countenance, when, turning, he beheld me convulsed with laughter. I might attempt it, I say, but I could not

not do it justice. Such a combination of ludicrous expression I never beheld; it was, indeed, an epitome of all the lower orders of human passions.

"At length, without saying a sentence, he wheeled about, threw off his slippers, drew on his boots, vociferated till he brought all the people of the caravan^{sera} about him, and ordered the horses to be ready instantly. As orders from such a person were not likely to be disobeyed, the horses were got ready. I saw that I must either proceed, or come to an open rupture with him; recollecting that I was myself in fault, that a dispute might be fatal, and that, at all events, it was only the humour of the moment, I drew on my boots too, and was ready to go, though I was much fitter for a twelve hours' nap than for an hour's travelling on horseback.

"We mounted immediately, and it was my good fortune to have the best horse. He set out upon the gallop, the moon shining as bright almost as day; I put forward my horse, and kept rather before him, which vexed him so, that he beat the poor animal he rode on most unmercifully. At length, after about eight or ten miles riding, he called a halt, dismounted, and said he would rest there all night. I saw it was all repentment; but knowing that it would be in vain to remonstrate, I dismounted too; and, judging that the best way to mortify him in return, was to comply with affected approbation, turned to my servant and told him (knowing that it would go from him to the Tartar) that I was delighted with the beauty of the night; remarking at the same time, that lying in the sweet salubrious air was

was far preferable to being confined in the sultry filth of a caravansera.

"As soon as this was communicated to the Tartar, he remarked, that the open air was the fittest place for the beasts of the forest, and therefore suitable to a Frank; but for his part, he would much rather repose on a cushion, which he should have done, had it not been for my accursed risible faculties.

"Here the conversation rested, and we fell asleep. In a few hours he awoke us, and we set forward: after some pause, he began in the following manner, which was interpreted to me, as he spoke, by my servant:

"Surely God made laughter for the derision and shame of mankind, and gave it to the Franks and the monkeys.

"But with all their he, he, he's, and ha, ha, ha's, it sometimes turns out that they are caught; the monkey is seized in a trap, and caged, or knocked o' the head, and the Frank is put in jail and bastinadoed or hanged; and then the tune is changed, and it is Oh, ho, ho!" Here he began to mimic crying so admirably, at the same time so ridiculously, that I burst out laughing again.

"Observe, Jimmel," said he hastily, "observe you can't refrain! But by our holy prophet, said he seriously, "it may end as I said: so look to yourself, and avoid laughter in caravanseras, or we part; for there are places, and that was one of them last night, where suspicion would ruin you. And if you lost your life, what should I say for myself on my return to Aleppo? Eh, what should I say for myself? Ha, ha, ha, would not do. No, no, they would not believe it, and should lose my character."

"Why

"Why, don't you laugh yourself?" said I.

"Very seldom, or rather never," returned he; at least I would not in time of danger. No, no, none but Christians and monkeys make a practice of laughing—Turks and Tartars are wiser." I promised him, that I would in future take more notice; and, by way of appeasing him with a littleattery, said, that he played his part so admirably, it was impossible to resist the impulse. But he answered, with a grave face, that his action in that case was of too serious a nature to be made subject of merriment, and advised me to believe so.

The solicitude of my guide for my safety was the earnestness of a man of business zealous to discharge with the utmost punctuality the duty he had undertaken; and I must observe, that the whole of his conduct evinced a precision and punctuality of dealing rarely found in our intercourse with mankind.

As soon as the remembrance of the laughing fair was a little decayed, the Tartar began to return into good humour, and to talk with his usual ebullience; for he was always, according to the mood of his spirits, either sullenly silent or extravagantly loquacious. His conversation, however, was very circumscribed, and consisted chiefly of stories of himself and his horse, the amazing journey he had made, and the feats of manhood he had performed.

One morning, I was awakened before day-break with a bustle in the caravan-sera where we were lodged. I conjectured that the Tartar was preparing to get forward, and rose in order to lose no time. I was so far right in my conjectures: the horses were ready, I came out to mount, and was very

very much surprised to perceive several horses before me loaded with something, which stood ere from their backs, and which I had barely light discern were not men. I concluded that they were bales of merchandise, packed up in a particular form, and asked no questions, till full day-light disclosed to me that they were human creatures tied up in sacks, and fastened astride on the horse backs. There was a strange union of horror and oddity in the conception, and it struck me at once with a mixed emotion of indignation, pity, and mirth. The former, however, got the better, and asked my servant with some warmth, what it meant. He said that the sacks contained some young women whom the Tartar had bought.—“God God!” said I, “is it possible that he can have bought wretched females to treat them with little tenderness?” “He has bought them,” returned my servant, “in the way of traffic, not for pleasure.”

“Suppose he has,” said I, “suppose even they were men, not to mention young women, how can he imagine they will survive this?”

“If I might presume to advise,” said he, “I would say, that you had better make no remark; it would only get them, perhaps, worse treated and raise his anger against you.”

To conclude, I took his advice, and kept the matter in my mind to myself. The unfortunate women were in this manner carried fifty miles, at the end of which their tender-hearted purchaser disposed of them in some way of keeping till his return, when, I suppose, they were to be carried back in sacks astride upon horses, all the way to Aleppo, there to be sold to the highest bidder.

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To us, who live in a country, where an hour's detention in a house against our will, is punished by unlawful imprisonment, and who feel and value the rich treasure of liberty above all earthly blessings, the bare idea of slavery appears horrible; when the miseries of slavery are sharpened by cruelty, our indignation burns at the offence: but such a complicated piece of enormity, as that I have mentioned, almost transcends belief, and indignation is lost in amazement. The wondering hand of Omnipotence alone could support these wretched beings; and when I asked in the evening, whether they were dying or dead, and was told that they were not only alive, but in perfect health, I could not help repeating that most beautiful expression put into the mouth of Maria by the inimitable Sterne, "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb."

This affair tended to prejudice me strongly against my Tartar guide, and for some time I could not look upon him without horror: but at length my resentment abated; and reason, resuming her seat of cool decision, told me, that though it was a crime, and a grievous one, he was not so responsible for it as those who, knowing better, authorized it by their concurrence, gave it the sanction of law, and made it familiarly practised; he only did that which he had been, even from his mother's breast, instructed to do, and should therefore not be judged by those rules which a politician would lay down for the government of his actions in such cases.

From the considerations already mentioned, our traveller's mind was by no means at ease. The incessant journeying for so many days, at the rate of twenty-five miles a day, to be continued he knew

not how long, increased his anxiety : and the apprehensions of accident, interruption, and above all, sickness, intercepting him on his way, haunted his imagination with all its terrors. He was, besides, approaching fast to that region, where the winds strike all living things, that draw them in, instantly dead : and conceiving, that the more expeditious he was in getting over the journey, the greater chance he had of escaping those mischiefs, he pushed heartily forward, and urged the Tartar, till he at last expressed his astonishment and approbation; paid the Captain the compliment to say, that he was almost equal to himself for enduring fatigue ; and concluded with a very sagacious surmise, that in all probability he had been himself a carrier of dispatches among the Frank governments.

One day, after they had rode about four miles from a caravanfera, at which they had changed cattle, Captain Campbell found that a most execrably bad horse had fallen to his lot : he was stiff, feeble, and foundered ; in consequence of which he stumbled very much, and the Captain every minute expected that he would fall and roll over him. He therefore proposed to the guide to exchange with him ; a favour he had hitherto never refused, and for which Captain Campbell was the more anxious, as the beast the Tartar rode was of the very best kind. To his utter astonishment, the Tartar peremptorily refused : and as this had been a day of unusual taciturnity on his part, our traveller attributed his refusal to peevishness and ill temper, and was resolved not to let the matter rest there. He therefore desired the interpreter to inform him, that as he had at Aleppo agreed to change horses with him as often

he pleased, he should consider their agreement infringed upon, if he did not comply, and would write to the consul at Aleppo to that effect.

As soon as this was conveyed to the Tartar, he seemed strongly agitated by anger; yet endeavoured to conceal his emotions under affected contempt and derision, which produced from him one of the most singular grins that ever yet marred the human physiognomy.

At length, observing that the Captain looked at him with sneering contemptuous defiance, he rode up along side of him, snatched the reins out of his hand, and caught hold of them collected close at the horse's jaw; then fell flogging the Captain's horse and spurring his own, till he got them both into full speed; nor did he stop there, but continued to belabour the poor jade with his whip, and to spur his own, driving headlong over every impediment that came in their way, till the Captain really thought he had run mad, or designed to kill him. Several times he was on the point of striking him with his whip, in order to knock him off his horse; but as often patience providentially came in to his assistance, and whistled him to forbear, and see it out. Meantime, he considered himself as being in some danger; and yet, such was the power the Tartar had over the little, that he found it impossible to stop him; so resigning the event to the direction of Providence, and suffering him without further effort to proceed, on his calling him, however, every opprobrious name he could think of in lingua Franca; and the Tartar, in answer, calling him dumus, jibash, burhl, hog, afs, mule, in rapid and impetuous vehemence of tone and utterance.

He continued this for some miles, over an uncultivated tract, here and there intersected with channels formed by rills of water in the periodical rains; thickly set with low furze, ferns, and other dwarf bushes, and broken up and down into little hills. His horse carried him clean over all; and though the Captain was every minute stumbling and nearly down, yet with a dexterity inexpressible, and a vigour altogether amazing, the Tartar kept him up by the bridle, and in fact carried him gallantly over every thing.

They alighted on the brow of a small hill, whence was to be seen a full and uninterrupted prospect of the country all around. The interpreter coming up, the Tartar called to him, and desired him to explain to his master carefully the meaning of what he was about to say; which was nearly as follows, as it was translated by the linguist.

"You see those mountains yonder," said he, pointing to the east; "those are the province of Kurdestan, inhabited by a vile race of robbers, called Jesides, who pay homage to a god of their own, called Jesid (Jesus), and worship the devil, from fear. They live by plunder, and often descend from those mountains, cross the Tigris, which runs between them and us, and plunder and ravage this country in bands of great number, and formidable strength, carrying away into slavery all they can catch, and killing all who resist them. This country, therefore, for some distance round us, is very dangerous to travellers, whose only safety lies in flight. Now it was our misfortune this morning to get a very bad horse, for which I please Alla, (stroking his whiskers), some one shall receive the bastinado. Should we meet with a band of those Curds, what could we do but fly

And

And if you, Frangi, rode this horse, and I that, we could never escape; for I doubt you could not keep him up from falling under me, as I did under you. Besides," continued he, "there are many villages here where people live, who, if they only suspected you were a Frank, would follow and sacrifice you, if they could, to Mahomet, and where, of course, you must run for it."

As soon as the interpreter had explained this to the captain, "Well," continued the Tartar, "what does he say now to it?" Then turning round, and tossing up his head, "Que dice, Frangi?"

"Why, I say," returned Captain Campbell, "that you have spoken good sense and sound reason; and I am obliged to you."

This, when interpreted fully, operated most pleasingly upon him: his features relaxed into a broad look of satisfaction, and he said, "I will do every thing I can to make you easy and contented; and when I am obstinate, don't resist; for be assured I have reason for it; and above all things, avoid laughing in my presence. But we shall reach Mosul by and by, and probably then we may have no more rides." For the Captain expected to get down the river Tigris from Mosul and to Bagdad, and he encouraged him with this flattering hope.

That night, says Captain Campbell, we came round a caravansera, which lay at some distance from any village. Here the Tartar, pleased with himself for the conduct of the day, and pleased with me for my approbation of it, ordered a most admirable supper; and not only rejected the best dish, in order to present it to me, but also selected for me the choicest bits of those upon the table. He then

ordered wine, observing, that the fatigue of a government messenger demanded indulgence; and using a salvo of my suggestion on a former occasion, viz. that the prophet would not be offended with travellers more than with the sick, for taking it *medicinally*.

We accordingly had wine, and admirable it was, though by no means equal to that we drank at the city of Diarbeker. I took little, however, and the Tartar was much surprised at my abstemiousness, remarking, that he never saw a Frank before, that was not a downright hog when he got the cup to his lips. My taking it in small portions, while he drank it as we do table beer, particularly astonished him. Before he lay down on his couch, he gave orders for horses, threatening the people with severe castigation if they gave us bad ones; holding up as an example the person that gave us the stumbling horse that day, who he declared should be bastinadoed as soon as he returned, if there was a cadi within ten leagues of him; and I dare say that he kept his word most religiously.

The next morning we had excellent cattle, and fear produced wonders among them, and we set forward just as the sun rose. As we entered the first village, I was somewhat alarmed, by perceiving my guide draw up his horse, deliberate, mutter to himself, and seem rather uneasy, while he viewed a crowd that was up the street before us, some of whom I perceived to be agitated with some extraordinary motions of the body, while one man stood in the middle, rolling his body into a variety of strange contortions. The Tartar, for a minute or two, seemed to be debating within himself whether he should proceed, or turn about

length, putting me on his left hand, he set forward at full speed, leaving the crowd on his right, who, seeing the rapidity of our pace, flew on one side, and let us pass. We soon, however, heard shouting behind us, and could hear plainly the words, "Ghiaour! Frangi cucu!" and looking back, perceived several ragged men, like savages, pursuing us, lifting stones occasionally, and casting them after us with all their might. The speed of our horses at last got us out of both sight and hearing; and I plainly perceived, and was for the first time convinced, that my guide's conduct was directed by sound sense, spirit, good faith, and integrity.

This extraordinary occurrence, however, required explanation, and the Tartar was not backward in giving it; particularly when he thought it would redound to his honour.

"You must know," said he, "that there are spread over the face of this great and glorious empire, a number of dervises of different kinds—pious men, who renounce the enjoyments and pleasures of the world, to converse with Mahomet, and worship Alla. Some of those are very good men and never do any thing bad; preaching and praying, without hurting any thing, even a rat or a snake; nay, they would not hurt a Christian. There are others again, called Santons, who live by themselves, sometimes under ground, like rabbits, and sometimes in the thickets and woods. They go where they please, take the best seat in any man's house, cram themselves with meat and drink; and yet none resist them; for some will eat, and others dare not. Nay, they often pollute women in the open streets; and they never set their eyes on a Christian or a Frank, that they will

will not kill, if possible. For my part, I think that they ought to be hanged, every one of them that had a head to be hanged by; or rather staked: for no punishment is too great for them; but I dare not say so in that town; if I did, I should be stoned to death by the rabble.

"As soon as I perceived the crowd, and the rascals dancing, I knew that they were Santons and was sure that they would stop us, in order to exact money from us; in which case they would most probably have discovered you, for they have the eyes of the devil. Nothing then could save your life; the crowd would join them, and your brains would have been beat out with stones. I had a mind to turn back and go round the town, but that might have caused suspicion, and got us perhaps, intercepted; so I determined to push by them boldly, which I did, you can testify, like a brave man. You saw enough yourself, to convince you of the danger you have escaped, and of my wisdom and valour; let me therefore entreat you to be entirely guided by me, and above all things avoid that accursed propensity to laughter."

"But how comes it, Hassan," said the captain, "that you, who have so much power at the caravaneras, have not power to resist those rascally Santons, or the mobs of a village?"

"Why, as to the mob," said he, "if I went by myself, or had only a true believer with me, I would make them fly before me like the dust before the wind. As to the Santons, no one can resist them: the great, who hate them, are obliged to shew them respect; and the bashaw of Aleppo, nay the commander of the faithful himself, could not save you, if one of them called on the mob to stone you, or tear you to pieces. How

ever

er, be of good cheer; for, please Alla, I will deliver you safe and sound to the coja at Bagdad: besides, we shall very soon be at Mosul, from whence we will go down by water, which will be very pleasant."

It was early in the evening when the pointed minarets of the city of Mosul opened on their view, and communicated no very unpleasant sensations to our traveller's heart. He found himself on a fertile ground; and could not help feeling some portion of the pride of the traveller, when he reflected, that he was now within sight of Nineveh, renowned in holy writ. The city is situated in a very barren sandy plain, on the banks of the Tigris. The external view of the town is much in its favour, being encompassed with lofty walls of solid stone, over which the steeples, or minarets, of other lofty buildings are seen with increased effect. Here he first saw a large caravan encamped, halting on its march from the realm of Persia to Armenia; and it made a most agreeable appearance, filling the eye with a multitude of grand objects, all uniting to form one magnificent whole.

But though the outside be so beautiful, the interior is most detestable; the heat is so intense, that in the middle of the day there is no stirring wind; and even at night the walls of the houses are so heated by the day's sun, as to produce a disagreeable heat to the body at a foot or even a greater distance from them. However, he entered it with spirits, because he considered it as the worst stage of the worst part of his pilgrimage. When he was disappointed in his expectation; for the Tigris was dried up by the intensity of the heat, and an unusually long drought; and he

was

was obliged to take the matter with a patient shrug, and accommodate his mind to a journey on horseback, which, though not so long as that he had already made, was likely to be equally dangerous, and which therefore demanded a full exertion of fortitude and resolution.

That night Hassan said, that as they must proceed to Bagdad on horseback, he would stay the next at Mosul, to refresh; "which," says Captain Campbell, "I objected to. He then spoke of the succeeding part of the journey as a thing of nothing: we had already come near nine hundred miles, and had not above five hundred to go: besides, as the weather was warmer, we would travel more in the night, and lie-by in the day-time, in places with which he was well acquainted. In short, the poor fellow seemed to take an interest in my safety, and I acquiesced in his wish to halt for a day.

"That evening, as we sat in the caravanserai, a man entered and spoke to Hassan, who seemed to pay great attention to what he was saying. He had that kind of countenance which bespeaks shrewdness, ingenuity, and mirth. At length he retired; and soon after Hassan bid us rise and follow him: he went into a sort of public room where a number of people were collected, sitting as is the custom in coffee-houses, on low stools. Hassan pointed to me to sit down, which I did; then placing the interpreter near us, he sat himself: and straight I perceived the man, who had just been speaking to him, step forth from the crowd, and begin to pronounce a sort of prologue. At length he paused, and hemming several times, to clear his pipes, began again to hold forth. "He is going to tell a story," said

the interpreter. The attention of all was fixed upon him, and he proceeded with a modulation of tones, a variety of action, and an energy of expression, that I think I have never heard or seen excelled: his action indeed was singularly admirable; and I could perceive that he was occasionally speaking in the tones of a man and a woman; in which latter character he gave a picture of whining ludicrous distress, that moved the risible muscles of all the company. I looked at Hassan, and he was grinning as merrily as could any monkey or Frank. The linguist occasionally interrupted what the story-teller was saying; and I soon began to suspect that it was a story I had more than once read in the Arabian Nights, though altered, and in some measure dramatized by the speaker. I looked several times archly at Hassan, and he returned my glance, as much as to say, you see I don't laugh at all this. At length, however, the orator came to a part where he was to mimic a poor little hunch-back (for I now discovered it to be the story of Little Hunch-back) choking with a bone: he threw up his head; squeezed, till all the blood in his body seemed collected in his face, his eyes rolled in their sockets, his knees knocked, he twisted and contorted his body, putting his fore-finger and thumb into his throat, and pulling with all his might, as if to pull something out: at length he grew weaker, stretched his arms down, and his fingers, like those of a person strangling—kicked, quivered, and died. It is impossible for any description to do justice to the perfection of his acting; and what rendered it the more extraordinary was, though it was a scene of death, and he acted death, he continued to render it so ludicrous

dicrous in circumstances, as to suspend the audience between a laugh and a cry. They did not remain long so; for he suddenly bounced up, and began the most doleful lamentation of a woman, and exhibited such a scene of burlesque distress as I never witnessed. All burst out in torrents of laughter, Hassan as well as the rest—I alone remained purposely serious; and the orator, according to custom, broke off in the middle of an interesting scene.

“When we returned to the caravanfera, I rallied the Tartar on the score of his laughter: he growled, and said, “Who could avoid it? Why did not you laugh as you were wont?”—“Because,” said I, “he did not act so comically as you.”—“No,” returned he; “but because Franks and monkeys only laugh for mischief, and where they ought not. No, Jimmel, you will never see me laugh at mischief.”

“The next day we set out well-mounted, and pushed on with renovated spirits toward Bagdad. Hassan could no more have the assurance to censure laughing; and, as I was little disposed to do it in time of danger, we were likely to agree very well. In short, we began to like one another's company; and if I brought him to be a greater laughier than he used to be, he gave himself the credit of having made me much more serious than I had been before—I profited by his instructions.”

“It would be idle and fruitless to attempt a regular detail of our progress from Mosul to Bagdad; the same general cautions were observed, with the same occasional relaxations.

“As we rode along we overtook several times straggling callenders, a kind of Mahomedan monks, who profess poverty and great sanctity; they were dressed all in rags, covered with filth, carried

carried a gourd, by way of bottle, for water; and bore in their hands a long pole decorated with flags, and pieces of cloth of various colours. They are supposed by the vulgar to have supernatural powers: but Hassan, who seemed to have caught all his ideas from his betters, expressed no sort of opinion of them; he *salam'd* to them, and gave them money, however. It was extraordinary enough, that they were all in one story; all were going on a pilgrimage to Mecca; or, as they call it, *Hadje*.

"As soon as ever we got out of their sight and hearing, Hassan shook his head, and repeated *Hadje, Hadje!*" several times doubtingly, and sighing, as he was accustomed to do when he was displeased without being able to manifest anger. "*Hadje!*" he would cry, "*Hadje, Hadje!*" I asked him what he meant; and he said, that these fellows were no more going to Mecca than I was. "I have a thousand and a thousand times," said he, "met callenders on the road, and always found them facing toward Mecca. I am going southward, I always overtake them; northward, I meet them; and all the time they are going wherever their business carries them.

After passing through an immense tract of country, distinguished by nothing that could serve even as a circumstance to mark and remember the daily journeys, but which our traveller observed to grow manifestly worse, both in soil and climate, as he proceeded southward, he came in sight of the famous city of Bagdad, on the seventh day from that on which he left Mosul, and the eighteenth from that of his departure from Aleppo; in which eighteen days he had travelled fourteen hundred miles, partly through a

route which no European, as he says, he has reason to believe, ever took before.

On entering the city, he desired his guide to conduct him to the house of a merchant, to whom he had got letters of credit and introduction. Accordingly, after winding through several streets he arrived at last at the door of an Armenian merchant, or coja, where he alighted, and was received with great politeness; but, on producing his letter, he found that this merchant was not the person to whom it was directed: the captain accordingly made a suitable apology, and was retiring to find the house of the proper person, for which purpose the Armenian offered him a servant, when, to his great astonishment, the Tartar interfered; said that it was to this merchant he brought all his goods, and that Captain Campbell must remain where he was; at the same time ordering the Armenian, in a peremptory tone, to take charge of him, and use him well. It was vain that the Armenian endeavoured to explain to him the nature of the business, and that the captain insisted he must go to the other merchant. Hassan was peremptory, and declared that he should not. It was so extremely *outré* and ridiculous, that no one could be angry; and the good Armenian uniting his voice with that of the Tartar, and entreating our traveller to favour him with his company, he acquiesced, and, indeed, remained in his house all the time he was at Bagdad. This was proof positive, if any other that he already had was wanting, that Hassan considered his charge merely as a piece of merchandise, which he was bound (according to the language of merchants) to deliver in good order and condition.

" I had undertaken, says Captain Campbell, before leaving Aleppo, to give the guide, if he acted conformably to my wishes, and behaved well, twenty pounds, over and above the hundred provided by the agreement: I therefore sent for him, to settle finally, and part. He had heard that I was a person different from what he had supposed me to be: but it did not alter his conduct as might be expected, or make him stoop to cringing; he still spoke with the same honest, bold familiarity; and when I gave him the promised twenty pounds, he never hinted, cringed for, or even looked as if he expected more; but when we came to part, the feelings he disclosed, and those myself felt, convinced me that man is not naturally that brute which prejudice has made him; and, that if left to its own operations, the human heart would be uniformly kind, affectionate, and sympathetic: the poor, rough, unpolished Turk, betrayed the strongest marks of sensibility, and I myself once more felt the uneasiness of parting."

The name of Bagdad has been so renowned in eastern story, and is the scene of so many of those bewitching tales which we find translated, or pretended to be translated, from the Arabic and Persian, that our traveller felt great pleasure in seeing it, and conceived himself to be at the very fountain-head of marvellous adventure and romance. Fraught with this idea, he was impatient to go forth into the town; and notwithstanding the weather was beyond conception hot, he paced a number of streets: but never (as he tells us) did he, in the course of his life, see a place so calculated to belie the opinion one would form of from the eastern tales. It appeared to him to be among the most disagreeable cities of the world,

and to have no one circumstance to recommend it: the heat is so great, that in the summer time the inhabitants are forced to keep their markets in the night, and to lie all night in the open air on the terraces of their houses.

The Armenian with whom he resided, did every thing in his power to render the place agreeable to him: he was not only generous and polite, but well informed, and pleasing in conversation. The captain took occasion to express to him the disappointment he felt at finding Bagdad so very different from what he expected; and told him that he had, when a youth, learned to think highly of it, or rather romantically, from reading eastern tales.

Unquestionably, said the merchant, Bagdad was once a great city, of flourishing commerce; but the Sultan Amurath IV. when he made himself master of it, put the richest merchants settled there to death; and it has ever since gradually declined. About two days journey from it, lie the ruins of the once famous city of Babylon. Our traveller was much disposed to go to see them, and thence drop down the Euphrates to Bassora: but his Armenian host told him there was nothing in it to recompense a person for half the trouble; for, of that magnificent city, which was sixty miles in circumference, which was encompassed with walls eighty-seven feet in thickness, and three hundred and fifty in height, nothing was to be seen but the bare foundations of some great edifices. The tower of Belus and the palace of Nebuchadnezzar lie with the rest in undistinguished ruin.

Captain Campbell describes himself as not having been more anxious to arrive at the city of Bagdad than he was to leave it; and having

written

written letters, and put them in a way of being forwarded to Europe, he took leave of his friendly, hospitable Armenian, and with a thousand acknowledgments for his kindness, set out on horseback to a place on the Tigris, where he embarked in a boat, in order to proceed to Bassora. This river, known since the first records of human existence by geographers, is remarkable for its rapidity, and for its extraordinary course, which is in many places under ground, rises in Armenia, sinks into the earth near Mount Taurus, and runs under a mountain—then rising on the other side, follows its course through the lake Thespites—again sinks frequently under ground, and continues hid at one time for a space of twenty-five miles; where, once more emerging, glides along with a very rapid stream, meets the Euphrates at a place called Korna, passes through Bassora, and falls into the Persian Gulph.

As the boat in which he took his passage had no convenience for excluding the violence of the sun, except an awning, he suffered extremely from the heat. The river itself was grand; but the banks, and contiguous country, contained nothing to attract notice—no object to diversify the dreary, deserted aspect of the scene—nothing to afford room for reflection, or give birth to a new idea. The only thing that served to keep the mind alive, was the apprehension of robbers, who, in great numbers, hover over this river, and plunder passengers. They had taken care, on leaving Bagdad, to be well provided with firearms, and they found these of good service, for they were frequently attacked by robbers with a view to plunder, but found that a shot or two dispersed and sent them off in consternation.

One night, however, in passing a creek, they perceived several boats issuing from it, in great order, and in a manner that evinced method and premeditation: they silently prepared for their reception, and were completely ready to meet them warmly, while the robbers thought them quite unprepared, and unconscious of their approach: the rogues first endeavoured to board them by surprise: wishing rather to frighten than to kill them. Captain Campbell and his party began by firing over their heads; on which they set up the most horrible shouts, and rushed on with a tumultuous rapidity, making the most terrible noise, in order to intimidate them: they were by this time quite near; the party therefore took aim at them, let fly, and immediately perceived them in great confusion, some of the boats losing their helm, and falling with the stream on the others: at last they sheered off, and gave no farther trouble.

After eight or ten disagreeable days, weakened with incessant watching, harassed with bodily fatigue, and melted with the excessive heat of the sun, our traveller arrived at the city of Bassora where he was received with the utmost hospitality by Mr. Latouche, the company's resident from Bombay, who did every thing possible for his accommodation, and procured him every instruction respecting his farther progress.

This city, as well as Bagdad, is famous in marvellous story. The country about it is considered by the natives as the best spot in Asia, though the burning winds annoy, and frequently destroy travellers, overwhelming them with mountains of hot sand, driven, like waves of the sea, before the tempests out of the neighbouring deserts. It carries

a great trade, and is inhabited by vast numbers of Christians and Jews. The English and Dutch have factories here, as well for the purpose of commerce as the transit of dispatches, by way of Damascus and Aleppo, to Europe. The richest merchandise of India and Europe are brought here in caravans; and its opulence is greatly increased by the caravans of pilgrims, who pass through it on their way to Mecca, and pay great duties, bringing for many rich commodities. The horses of this place are celebrated for their superior excellence, and it is said, that they will run thirty miles without meat or drink.

From Bassora, Captain Campbell took his passage in a date-boat going to Muskat, expecting to return from thence a speedy passage to Bombay; but the boat sprang a leak at sea, and they were obliged to run into Busheer, where he was very hospitably received and entertained by Mr. Galley, the company's resident.

A fatality seemed to attend our author from his first setting out. He was now obliged to remain at Busheer, till a company's frigate, commanded by Captain Hardy, and soon expected, should afford him an opportunity of proceeding to Bombay. Time, however brought that period about, and he took his passage, and arrived safe at Bombay, where he soon after embarked on board a Portuguese vessel, being the only conveyance that offered, to proceed to Madras: she was first bound to Goa, and arrived safely at that island, where he was received with great politeness, and treated with the most friendly attention, by Mr. Henshaw, the English resident.

Captain Campbell was impatient to get from Goa, and yet looked forward to his departure with a secret

a secret uneasiness, for which he declares himself unable to account.—He wished to proceed, and yet, some secret forboding whispered to his heart that he was on the verge of calamity : So powerful was it, says he, and so obstinate, that I could neither reason away its admonitions, nor resist its impressions ; and something incessantly told me, in as plain language as if a human being spoke, that I should suffer a dreadful misfortune. As I had all my life been an enemy to superstition, I felt my spirit insulted, and my understanding degraded, by the involuntary victory which I allowed to this impression—I combated it with reason, with ridicule, with self-contempt—all in vain : in spite of me, I became the very slave of gloomy presentiment ; and, in order to get the succedaneous aid of a friend's reason, as well as to be prepared, I communicated the state of my feelings to Mr. Henthaw. In vain he endeavoured to cheer me : all he could do was to give me his counsel ; in consequence of which I actually settled all my affairs up to that day, made my will, left it with Mr. Henthaw, and, full of dreadful forebodings of shipwreck, went on board a Portuguese snow bound for Madras.

It was now the 18th of May when we sailed from Goa. The hemisphere had been, for some days overcast with clouds : some light showers of rain had fallen ; and it certainly did not tend to raise my spirits, and free me from my ominous apprehensions, to hear that these circumstances indicated an approaching gale of wind. I observed moreover, that the vessel was much too deep in the water, being greatly overloaded, that she was in many respects defective, and, as the seamen say, ill-found, and in short, very unfit to encounter

counter a gale of wind of any violence. I scorned, however, to yield to these united impressions, and determined to proceed.

On the 19th, the sky was obscured by immense fleeces of clouds, surcharged with inflammable matter; and in the evening the rain fell in torrents, the firmament darkened apace, sudden night came on, and the horrors of extreme darkness were rendered still more horrible by the peals of thunder which rent the air, and the frequent flashes of lightning, which served only to shew the horror of our situation, and leave us in increased darkness: mean time the wind became more violent, blowing on the shore; and a heavy sea united with it, to make our state more formidable.

By day-light on the morning of the 20th, the gale had increased to a furious tempest; and the sea, keeping pace with it, ran mountain-high; and as it kept invariably to the same point, the captain and officers became seriously alarmed, and almost persuaded that the south-west monsoon had set in, which, if it were so, would render it absolutely impossible for us to weather the coast. All that day, however, we kept as close as the violence of the weather would allow us, to the land; but with little effect, so that we began to despair of keeping off the shore, unless the wind changed, of which there was not now the smallest probability. During the night, there was no permission of the storm: many of the sails blew to ribbons; some of the rigging was carried away, and such exertions were made, that, before morning, every stick that could possibly be struck was down upon the deck.

About

About seven o'clock on the morning of the 21st, I was alarmed by an unusual noise upon the deck, and running up, perceived that every remaining sail in the vessel, the fore-sail alone excepted, was totally carried away. The sight was horrible, and the whole vessel presented a spectacle as dreadful to the feelings, as mortifying to human pride. Fear had produced, not only all the helplessness of despondency, but all the mischievous freaks of insanity. In one place stood the captain, raving, stamping, and tearing his hair in handfuls from his head—here, some of the crew were cast upon their knees, clasping their hands, and praying, with all the extravagance of horror painted in their faces—there, others were flogging their images with all their might, calling upon them to allay the storm. One of our passengers, who was purser of an English East Indiaman, had got hold of a case-bottle of rum, and, with an air of distraction and deep despair imprinted in his face, was stalking about in his shirt. I perceived him to be on the point of serving it about, in large tumblers, to the few undismayed people; and well convinced, that, so far from alleviating, it would sharpen the horrors of their mind, I went forward, and with much difficulty prevented him.

Having accomplished this point, I applied myself to the captain, and endeavoured to bring him back, if possible, to his recollection, and to a sense of what he owed to his duty as a commander, and to his dignity as a man: I exhorted him to encourage the sailors by his example; and strove to raise his spirits, by saying, that the storm did not appear to me by any means so terrible as some had before experienced.

While

While I was thus employed, we shipped a sea on the starboard side, which I really thought would have sent us down. The vessel seemed to sink beneath its weight, shivered, and remained motionless. Just at this crisis, the water, which rushed with incredible force through all parts of the vessel, brought out floating, and nearly suffocated, another English passenger, who was endeavouring to take a little repose in a small cabin boarded off from the deck; he was a very stout young man, and full of true spirit. Finding that the vessel was not, as I had thought, going immediately down, he joined me in exhorting the captain to his duty: we persuaded him to throw the guns overboard, as well as a number of trunks and packages, with which the vessel was much encumbered: and with some little exertion, we got the pumps set a going.

The name of the English passenger just mentioned was Hall. He was a young man of a most amiable disposition, and with it possessed all that manly spirit, that gives presence of mind in exigencies of danger. He, and Captain Campbell having, with great difficulty, got some hands to stick to the pumps, stood at the wheel, at once to assist the men, and prevent them from quitting it: and, although hopeless, determined that no effort practicable on their parts should be wanting to the preservation of the vessel. The water, however, gained upon the pumps, notwithstanding every effort; and it evidently appeared that they could not keep her long above water.

At ten o'clock the wind seemed to increase, and amounted to a downright hurricane; the sky was entirely obscured with black clouds, and the rain fell so thick, that objects were not discernible from

from the wheel to ship's head. Soon the pumps were choked, and could no longer be worked; then dismay seized on all—nothing but unutterable despair, silent anguish, and horror, wrought up to frenzy, was to be seen; not a single soul was capable of an effort to be useful.

At about eleven o'clock, they could plainly distinguish a dreadful roaring noise, resembling that of waves rolling against rocks; but the darkness of the day, and the accompanying rains, prevented them from seeing any distance; and if it were a rock, they might be actually dashed to pieces on it before they could perceive it. At twelve o'clock, however, the weather cleared up a little, and both the wind and the sea seemed to have abated: the very expansion of the prospect round the ship was exhilarating; and the weather grew better, and the sea less furious, the senses of the people returned, and the general stupor began to decrease.

The weather continuing to clear up, they in some time discovered breakers and large rocks without side of them; so that it appeared they must have passed quite close to them, and were now fairly hemmed in between them and the land.

In this very critical juncture, says our traveller, the captain adopted the dangerous resolution of letting go an anchor, to bring her up with her head to the sea. She had scarcely felt the anchor, before an enormous sea rolling over her overwhelmed and filled her with water, and every one on board concluded that she was certainly sinking. On the instant, a Lascar, with a presence of mind worthy an old English mariner, took an axe, ran forward, and cut the cable.

On finding herself free, the vessel again floated, and made an effort to right herself; but she was almost completely water-logged, and heeled to starboard so much, that the gunnel lay under water. They then endeavoured to steer as fast as they could for the land, which they knew could not be at any great distance, though they were not able to discover it through the hazy weather: the fore-sail was loosened; by great efforts in sailing, she righted a little, her gunnel was got above water, and they scudded as well as they could before the wind, which still blew hard on shore; and about two o'clock, the land appeared at a small distance ahead.

The love of life countervails all other considerations in the mind of man. The uncertainty they were under, with regard to the shore before them, which they had reason to believe was part of Ayder Alli's dominions, where they should meet with the most rigorous treatment, if not ultimate death, was forgotten in the joyful hope of saving life, and they scudded toward the shore in all the bustling transports of a people just snatched from the jaws of death.

This gleam of happiness, however, continued not long: a tremendous sea rolling after them, broke over their stern, tore every thing before it, drove in the steerage, carried away the rudder, overpowered the wheel to pieces, and tore up the veering-bolts of the deck; conveyed the men who stood at the wheel forward, and swept them overboard. Captain Campbell was standing, at the time, near the wheel, and, fortunately, had hold of the taffarel, which enabled him to resist, in spite of the weight of the wave. He was however,

swept off his feet, and dashed against the main-mast.

"I floundered about," says he, "in the water at the foot of the mast, till at length I got on my feet, and seized a rope, which I held in a state of great embarrassment, dubious what I should do to extricate myself. At this instant I perceived that Mr. Hall had got upon the capstern, and was waving his hand for me to follow his example; this I wished to do, though it was an enterprise of some risk and difficulty. I made a bold push, however, and fortunately accomplished it. Having attained this station, I could the better survey the wreck, and saw that the water was nearly breast high on the quarter deck, and I perceived the unfortunate English purser standing where the water was most shallow, as if watching with patient expectation its rising, and awaiting death: I called to him to come to us, but he shook his head in despair, and said, in a lamentable tone, "It is all over with us! God have mercy upon us!"—then seated himself with seeming composure on a chair, which happened to be rolling about in the wreck of the deck, and in a few minutes afterwards was washed into the sea along with it, where he was speedily released from a state ten thousand times worse than death.

"The vessel now got completely water-logged; and Mr. Hall and I were employed in forming conjectural calculations how many minutes she could keep above water, and consoling one another, on the unfortunate circumstances under which we met; lamenting that fate had thus brought us acquainted only to make us witnesses of each other's misery, and then to see one another no more.

"A

" As the larboard side of the vessel was gradually going down, the deck, and of course the capstern, became too nearly perpendicular for us to continue on it: we therefore foresaw the necessity of quitting it, and got upon the starboard side, holding fast by the gunnel, and allowing our bodies and legs to yield to the sea, as it broke over us. Thus we continued for some time: at length the severity of the labour so entirely exhausted our strength and spirits, that our best hope seemed to be a speedy conclusion to our painful death; and we began to have serious intentions of letting go our hold, and yielding ourselves up at once to the fury of the waves.

" The vessel, which all this time drifted with the sea and wind, gradually approximated the shore, and at length struck the ground, which for an instant revived our almost departed hopes; but we soon found that it did not in the smallest degree better our situation. Again I began to yield to utter despair; again I thought of letting go my hold, and sinking at once: it is impossible, thought I, ever to escape; why, then, prolong, for a few minutes, a painful existence that must at last be given up? Yet, yet, the all-subduing love of life suggested, that many things apparently impossible had come to pass; and I said to myself, if life is to be lost, why not lose it in a glorious struggle? Should I survive it by accident, life will be rendered doubly sweet to me, and I still more worthy of it by persevering fortitude.

" While I was employed in this train of reflection, I perceived some of the people collecting together, talking, and holding a consultation; it immediately occurred to me, that they

were devising some plan for escaping from the wreck, and getting on shore; and, so natural is it for man to cling to his fellow creature for support in difficult or dangerous exigencies, that I proposed to Mr. Hall to join them, and take a share in the execution of the plan; observing to him at the same time, that I was determined, at all events, to quit the vessel, and trust to the protection and guidance of a superintending Providence for the rest.

I therefore made an effort to get to the lee shrouds, where they were standing, or rather clinging; but before I could accomplish it, I lost my hold, fell down the hatchway, and was for some minutes entangled there among a heap of packages, which the violent fluctuations of the water had collected on the lee side. As the vessel moved with the sea, and the water flowed in, the packages and I were rolled together; sometimes one, sometimes another uppermost; so that I began to be apprehensive I should not be able to extricate myself; by the merest accident, however, I grasped something that lay in my way, made a vigorous spring, and gained the lee shrouds. Mr. Hall, who followed me, in seizing the shrouds, was driven against me with such violence, that I could scarcely retain my hold of the rigging.

“Compelled by the perilous situation in which I stood, I called out to him, for God’s sake to keep off, for that I was rendered quite breathless and worn out: he generously endeavoured to make way for me, and in so doing, unfortunately lost his hold, and went down under the ship’s side. Never, never shall I forget my sensations at this melancholy incident. However, as much

to my astonishment as to my joy, I saw him borne by a returning wave, and thrown among the very packages from which I had but just before, with such labour and difficulty, extricated myself. In the end he proved equally fortunate, but after a much longer and harder struggle, and after sustaining much more injury.

"I once more changed my station, and made my way to the poop, where I found myself rather more sheltered; I earnestly wished Mr. Hall to be with me, whatever might be my ultimate fate, and beckoned him to come near me; but he only answered by shaking his head, in a feeble, desponding manner; staring at the same time wildly about him; even his spirit was subdued; and despair, I perceived, had begun to take possession of his mind.

"Being a little more at ease in my new station than I had been before, I had more time to deliberate and more power to judge. I recollected, that, according to the course of time, the day was far gone, and the night quickly approaching: I reflected, that for any enterprise whatsoever, day was much preferable to night; and above all I considered that the vessel could not hold long together; I therefore thought, that the best mode I could adopt would be, to take to the water with the first buoyant thing I could see; and, as the wind and water both seemed to run to the shore, to take my chance in that way of reaching it. In pursuance of this resolution, I tore off my shirt, having before that thrown off the other parts of my dress. Watching my opportunity, I saw a log of wood floating near the vessel, and, waving my hand to Mr. Hall, as a last adieu, jumped after it. Here, again, I was

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doomed to aggravated hardships ; I had scarcely touched the log when a great sea snatched it from my hold, still as it came near me, I grasped at it ineffectually, till at last it was completely carried away, but not before it had cut, and battered, and bruised me in several places, and in a manner, that at any other time I should have thought dreadful.

“ Death seemed inevitable ; and all that occurred to me now to do, was to accelerate it, and get out of its pangs as speedily as possible ; for, though I knew how to swim, the tremendous surf rendered swimming useless, and all hope from it would have been ridiculous. I therefore began to swallow as much water as possible ; yet still rising by the buoyant principle of the waves to the surface, my former thoughts began to recur ; and whether it was that of natural instinct, which survived the temporary impressions of despair, I know not ; but I endeavoured to swim, which I had not done long, when I again discovered the log of wood I had lost, floating near me, and with some difficulty caught it : hardly had it been an instant in my hands, when, by the same unlucky means, I lost it again. I had often heard it said, that if a man will throw himself flat on his back in the water, lie quite straight and stiff, and suffer himself to sink till the water gets into his ears, he will continue to float so forever : this occurred to me now, and I determined to try the experiment ; so I threw myself on my back in the manner I have described, and left myself to the disposal of Providence ; nor was it long before I found that I floated with hardly an effort, and I began for the first time to conceive something like hopes of preservation.

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I took courage, and left myself still to the same all-directing Power that had hitherto preserved me, scarcely doubting that I should soon reach the land. Nor was I mistaken; for, in a short time more, without effort or exertion, and without once turning from off my back, I found myself strike against the sandy beach. Overjoyed to the highest pitch of transport, at my providential deliverance, I made a convulsive spring, and ran up a little distance on the shore; but was so weak and worn down by fatigue, and so unable to clear my stomach of the salt water with which it was loaded, that I suddenly grew deadly sick, and apprehended that I had only exchanged one death for another; and in a minute or two fainted away."

When Captain Campbell recovered from the swoon into which he had fallen, he found himself surrounded by a guard of armed soldiers, sepoy, and pikemen. He immediately knew them to be the troops of Hyder Alli, and almost wished himself back into the waves again. Looking round, he saw that the people and effects which had been saved from the wreck were collected all together along with him.

In this state they remained till it was dark. A Lascar belonging to the vessel, perceiving that our traveller's state of nakedness gave him great concern, tore into two a piece of cloth which he had tied round his waist, and gave him one part of it, which afforded a short apron.

"Of all the acts of beneficence," says Captain Campbell, "that I ever met with, this struck me the most forcibly: it had kindness, disinterestedness, and delicacy for its basis; and I have never since thought of it without wishing that I could meet the man, to reward him for his beneficence

ficence with a subsistence for life. The lower order of people of a certain country, I know would think a man in such circumstances as I was then in, a fitter object of pleasantry than pity."

The vast quantity of salt water he had swallowed still made him deadly sick in his stomach; after some time, however, he threw it up, and got great relief. He had hardly felt the comfortable effects of this, before he was ordered to march: nine of them, all Lascars except himself, were conveyed to a village at a few miles distance on the sea side, where they were for the night put into a square place, walled round, open to the inclemency of the weather above and below, and filled with large logs of wood; it blew most violently, and rain fell in torrents; while not one smooth plank could be found on which to stretch their harassed and wasted bodies.

A night of more exquisite horror than this was, cannot be imagined. The thought of being a prisoner to Hyder Alli was, of itself, sufficient to render our traveller completely unhappy: but his utter want of clothes almost put him beside himself; and lying exposed to the open air, where he was glad to sit close to the Lascars to receive a little heat from their bodies, and to hold open his mouth in order to catch a drop of the descending rain, was a state that might be considered as the highest refinement upon misery.

About four o'clock in the morning, a little cold rice was brought them to eat, and water was dug out of a hole near the spot for them; but, as all things in this life are good or bad merely relatively, this wretched fare was some refreshment

them. The Captain was then removed to the
ins of a toddy-hut, separated from the rest, and
guard set over him. Here he had full room for
reflection. The whole of his situation appeared
before him with all its aggravating circumstances
of horror, and it seemed hardly possible to fill the
bitter cup of calamity fuller.

In this state he was, when, to his utter astonish-
ment, and to his no less joy, the amiable compa-
nion of his shipwreck, Mr. Hall appeared before
him. He scarcely knew how to think his appear-
ance reality, as he understood that the Lascars then
along with him were all that were saved from
the wreck; and Mr. Hall was, at the time he
started from him, so exhausted both in body and
mind, that to every appearance he would be the
first who could escape. Mr. Hall, however, shook
him by the hand; and, sitting down, told our
traveller that he had given him up for lost, and
remained with the vessel until the tide, having
ebbed, left her almost dry—that, immediately on
getting ashore, and being taken prisoner, he made
inquiries about him, and heard that he had been
saved—that, finding this, his joy was such as to
make him almost forget his own misfortunes—
and, exerting all his entreaties not to be separated
from his friend, they had been so far indulgent to
him, and had brought him there, that they might
have companions in bondage. He added, that out
of eleven Europeans and fifty-six Lascars who
were on board, only he and Captain Campbell of
the former, and fourteen of the latter, were saved
from the wreck, the rest having been drowned
in the attempt, excepting some who, overcome
with terror, anguish, and anxiety, and exhausted
with fatigue, had bid a formal adieu to their com-
panions,

panions, let go their hold, and calmly and voluntarily given themselves up to the deep.

His joy at escaping shipwreck, our traveller describes as by no means so great as the agony his mind underwent at the prospect now before him. The unmerciful disposition of Hyder, and all those in authority under him, and the cruel policy of the eastern chiefs, making the life of any one, particularly a British prisoner, at the best a precarious tenure, he did not know the moment when death might be inflicted upon him, with, perhaps, a thousand aggravating circumstances: and, at all events, the affairs which demanded his presence in India so very importunately as to urge him to all the fatigues and hardships of a passage over land, were, of themselves, sufficient to make his mind uneasy; but the abject state of want and nakedness, in which it seemed he was likely to remain, struck a deep and damp horror to his heart, and almost unmanned him.

"Mr. Hall and I," says he, "endeavoured, with all our might, to stem the headlong torrent of our fate—melancholy preyed deeply and openly upon him, while I concealed mine, and endeavoured to cheer the sinking spirits of that noble youth, who, I perceived, was the prey rather of extreme sensibility than feebleness of mind. All the horrors of shivering nakedness, though, to a mind delicate like his, and a person reared in the lap of luxury, sufficiently goading, appeared as nothing when compared with one loss he had sustained in the depredations with which shipwreck is constantly followed up. In the horrid suspense between life and death, which I have already described, previous to my getting on shore,

more, this amiable young man had secured and treasured next his heart, as the inseparable companion of his fate, a miniature portrait of a young lady: it hung round his neck, and was, by the unfeeling villains who seized him on his landing, taken away. This cruel deprivation was an incessant corrosive to his mind—the copious source of anguish to his heart—the hourly theme of the most pathetic afflicting exclamations.

For some days they lay in this place, exposed to the weather, without even the slender comfort of a little straw to cover the ground beneath them; their food, boiled rice, served very sparingly twice a day by an old woman, who just threw a handful, or more, of it to each, upon a very dirty board, which they devoured with those spoons which nature gave them.

At the end of that time, they, and, along with them, the Lascars, were ordered to proceed into the country, and driven on foot to a considerable distance, in order to render up an account of themselves to persons, authorized to take it. It was advanced in the morning when they moved, without receiving any sort of sustenance, and were marched in that wasting climate eight hours, without breaking their fast; during which time they were exposed alternately to the scorching heat of the sun and heavy torrents of rain, which raised painful blisters on their skin: they had often to stand exposed to the weather, or to lie down, under the pressure of fatigue and weakness, on the bare ground.

Two days after this, they were moved again, and marched up the country by a long and circuitous route, in which they underwent every hardship that cruelty could inflict, or human fortitude

itude endure. At length they arrived at Hydernagur, the metropolis of the province of Bidanore, a fort of considerable strength, mounting upwards of seventy guns, containing a large garrison of men, and possessed of immense wealth.

It was about two o'clock in the morning when they arrived at Bidanore: the day was extremely hot, and they were kept out under the full heat of that broiling sun till six o'clock in the evening, before they were admitted to an audience of the jemadar, or governor of the palace, without having a mouthful of victuals offered to them after the fatiguing march of the morning.

While they stood in this forlorn state, a vast concourse of people collected about, and viewed them with curiosity. Looking round among those who stood nearest, Captain Campbell says, he observed some men gazing at him with strong marks of emotion, and a mixture of wonder and concern portrayed in their countenances. Surprised to see such symptoms of humanity in a Mysorean Indian, he looked at them with more scrutinizing attention, and thought that their faces were familiar to him. Catching his eye they looked at him significantly, as though they would express their regard and respect for him if they dared; and then he began to recollect that they were formerly privates in his own regiment of cavalry, and were then prisoners at large with Hyder.

He was not less surprised that these poor fellows should recognise him in his present miserable fallen state, than affected at the sympathetic feeling they disclosed. He returned their look with a private nod of recognition; but, seeing that they were afraid to speak to him, and fear

ing he might injure them by disclosing their acquaintance, he forbore any thing more.

Had Mr. Hall and his fellow captive been made prisoners of war in battle against an enemy, there is no law of nature or nations, no rule of reason or principle of equity, that could palliate such treatment as that which they now received: but, cast by misfortune and shipwreck on their shore, they were entitled to solace and protection. The worst wretches who hang out false beacons on the western coasts of England, to allure ships to their destruction, would not be cruel without temptation; but these barbarians, without any profit but what a malignant heart derives from the miseries of others, or any pleasure but what proceeds from their pain, exercised upon them the most wanton cruelty. Compared with such treatment, instant death would have been an act of mercy to them; and they would have had reason to bless the hand that inflicted it.

Mortifications of one sort or other--the incessant torturing of the mind on the rack of suspense--the injuries to the animal system occasioned by constant exposure to the weather, and the want of food--all conspired to reduce our traveller, as he tells us, to the dimensions and feebleness of a skeleton. He had grown daily weaker and weaker, and was now nearly exhausted, and quite faint; while, on the other hand, his amiable companion in affliction was reduced by a dysentery, which attacked him soon after their shipwreck, and which the torments of his mind, the want of medicine and comfortable food, and, above all, the alternate violent changes from profuse perspiration in walking, to chilling cold at night, had increased to such an alarming

degree, that he was obliged to be carried the two last days journey. In this state, they appeared to each other as two spectres hanging over the brink of the grave. "In my progress through life," says he, "I have had occasion to try several men, and have found among them many who were every thing that a good heart could wish to find: but this young gentleman had, at once, so much suavity and spirit—such gentleness and fortitude—his sufferings were so exquisite, and he bore them with such meekness, tempered by such uninterrupted good humour, and concealed and managed with so much delicacy, that I do not transgress the bounds of truth, when I say, I never met one who so entirely interested my feelings, and attached my friendship so unalterably, upon principles of instinctive impulse, as well as reason. Impelled by the irresistible claims he had upon my approbation and esteem, I entered with all the warmth of a brother into his sufferings, and can assert, with truth, that they constituted the severest trials I underwent during my whole imprisonment."

While they stood in the court, waiting to be brought before the jemadar, they presented a spectacle that would have wrung pity, one would think, from the heart of a tiger, if a tiger were endued with reflection. At length they were summoned to appear before him, and brought into his presence. Captain Campbell had made up his mind for the occasion, determined to support himself in a manly, candid manner, and to let no consideration whatever lead him to any thing disgraceful to his character, or unworthy his situation in life; and, finally, had prepared himself to meet, without shrinking, whatever misfortune

misfortunes might yet be in store for him, or whatever cruelties the barbarous disposition or wicked policy of the tyrant might think proper to inflict.

On entering, they found the jemadar in full court. He was then occupied with the reading of dispatches, and in transacting other public business. His prisoners were placed directly opposite to him, where they stood for near an hour, during which time he never cast his eyes towards them; but when, at last, he had concluded the business in which he was engaged, and deigned to look at them, they were ordered to prostrate themselves before him: the Lascars immediately obeyed the order, and threw themselves on the ground; but Captain Campbell contented himself with making a salam, in which Mr. Hall followed his example.

As soon as this ceremony was over, the jemadar (who was no other than the famous Hyat Sahib) began to interrogate Captain Campbell. He desired to know who he was?—what his profession was?—and what was the cause and manner of his approaching the country of Hyder Ali?—To all those questions the captain gave answers that seemed to satisfy him. He then asked him what news he had brought with him from Europe?—enquired into the state of the army, and number of recruits dispatched in the ships of that season—was minute and circumstantial in his questions respecting the nature and success of the war in Europe, and examined him closely, touching the resources of the East India Company. Our traveller saw his drift, and was cautious and circumspect in his answers, yet at

the same time contrived to speak with an air of candour that in some sort satisfied him

Having exhausted his whole string of questions, he turned the discourse to another subject, no less than his great and puissant lord and master, Hyder, of whom he had endeavoured to impress a great, if not terrible, idea—amplifying his power, his wealth, and the extent and opulence of his dominions—and describing, in the most exaggerated terms, the number of his troops—his military talents—his vast and unrivalled genius—his amazing abilities in conquering and governing nations, and, above all, his many amiable qualities, and splendid endowments of heart, no less than of understanding.

Having thus, with equal zeal and fidelity, endeavoured to impress his prisoner with veneration for his lord and master, and for that purpose attributed to him every perfection that may be supposed to be divided among all the kings and generals that have lived since the birth of Christ, he turned to the English government, and endeavoured to demonstrate the folly and inutility of our attempting to resist his progress, which he compared to that of the sea, to a tempest, to a torrent, to a lion's pace and fury—to every thing that an eastern imagination could suggest as a figure proper to exemplify grandeur and irresistible power. He then vaunted of his sovereign's successes over the English, some of which the captain had not heard of before, and did not believe; and concluded by declaring, that it was Hyder's determination to drive all Europeans from Indostan, which he averred he could not fail to do, considering the weakness of the

and the boundless power of the other. This part of Hyat Sahib's discourse is well worth the readers remembering, as it will serve to make a very diverting contrast with his subsequent conduct.

After having expended near half an hour in this manner, he called upon Captain Campbell to come over near him, and caused him to seat himself upon a mat, with a pillow to lean upon—encouraged him, by every means he could, to speak to him without the least reserve—exhorted him to tell him the truth in every thing they spoke of—and hinted that his falling into his hands might turn out the most fortunate event of his life.

Our traveller was at a loss to what motive to attribute all these singular marks of indulgence; but found that Hyat had learned whose son he was (and knew his father by reputation), from the sepoys, who were now prisoners at large there: and as rank and office are the chief recommendation in the east, the sagacious Hyat Sahib found many claims to esteem and humanity in him as the son of a Colonel Campbell.

After a full hour's audience, in which Hyat Sahib treated the captain with distinguished marks of favour, considering his situation, he dismissed him with the ceremony of beetle-nut, rose-water, and other compliments, which are in that country held as the strongest marks of politeness, respect, and good-will.

Leaving the court, he was led to the inner fort, or citadel: and the officious zeal of those about him, unwilling to let him remain ignorant of that which they conceived to be a most fortunate turn in his affairs, gave the coup de grace to his miseries as he went along, by congratulating

ing him on the favourable opinion which the jemadar had formed of him, and intimating, at the same time, that he would soon be honoured with a respectable command in Hyder's service.

"If I was miserable before," says Captain Campbell, "this intimation entirely destroyed the last remnant of peace or hope. I was determined to die a thousand deaths sooner than serve any state hostile to Great Britain—but still more a tyrant, whose country, nature, and principles I detested, and could never think of without the greatest horror; and I judged, that if such an offer should be made, and I refused it, my life would fall a sacrifice to their rage and disappointment, or at least I should live a life of imprisonment, and never more behold country, family, friends, connections, or any thing that I valued in life."

That night the jemadar sent him an excellent supper, of not less than six dishes, from his own table; but, although he had been so long famishing with the want of wholesome food, the idea of being enlisted in the service of Hyder struck him with such horror, that he lost all appetite, and was scarcely able to eat a mouthful. Mr. Hall and he, however, were separated from the Lascars, who were released and forced to work.

Notwithstanding, however, the favourable intentions manifested towards Captain Campbell by the jemadar, as already mentioned, no mark of it whatsoever appeared in his lodging. This consisted of a very small place, in the zig-zag of one of the gates of the citadel: it was open in front, but covered with a kind of shed on the top; and a number of other prisoners were about them. Mr. Hall and he were each allowed a

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mat and pillow, and this formed the whole of their local accommodations for the present.

In addition to this luxury, they were allowed to the value of four pence halfpenny a day for their maintenance; and a guard of sepoy was put over them and a few more prisoners, one of whom was directed to go and purchase their victuals, and do such kind of offices for them.

This guard was changed every week—a strong mark of the suspicious and wary tempers of those people, who could fear intrigues and cabals between wretched prisoners like these, and their soldiers.

In two or three days after this, Hyat Sahib sent for Captain Campbell, treated him with great kindness, gave him some tea, and furnished him with two or three shirts, an old coat, and two pair of breeches, which were stripped from the dead bodies that were thrown ashore from the wreck—every thing that was saved from it being sent to Bidanore. At this interview he treated him with great respect—gave him, beside the articles already mentioned, thirty rupees—and, upon his going away, told him that in a few days a very flattering proposal would be made to him, and that his situation would be rendered not only comfortable, but enviable.

In the evening of the day on which the jemadar, Hyat Sahib, had honoured Captain Campbell with an audience, given him clothes and money, and informed him that a proposal, which he called flattering, would be made to him, he was sent for to attend, not at the court, but at the house of a man high in office. As he expected to meet Hyat Sahib himself, and trembled at the thoughts of his expected proposition,

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our traveller was surprised, and indeed pleased, to find that it was with one of his people only that he was to have a conference. This man received him with great kindness, encouraged him, made him sit down with him, and began to speak of Hyat Sahib, whom he extolled to the skies, as a person endowed with every great and amiable quality, and possessed of the friendship and confidence of his master, Hyder Ally, in a greater degree than any other person, Tippoo Sahib, his own son, not excepted: he then gave him the private history of Hyat.

When the man had finished this, which he overcharged with fulsome panegyric, he told the captain (with a face full of that triumphant importance which one, who thinks he is conferring a great favour, generally assumes), that it was the intention of Hyat Sahib, for and on behalf of his master the sultan, to give him the command of five thousand men.

"It is not possible for me," says the captain, "to describe my dismay at this formal proposal, or portray the various emotions that took possession of my breast. Resentment had its share—the pride of the soldier, not unaccompanied with the pride of family and rank, while it urged me to spurn such a base accommodation, made me consider the offer as a great insult. I therefore paused a little, to suppress my feelings; and then told him my firm resolution never to accept of such a proposal; and upon his expressing great astonishment at my declining a station so fraught with advantage, I laid down, in the best manner I could, my reasons; and I must say, that he listened to all the objections I started with great patience; but, in the conclusion said, he had lit-

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the doubt of finding means to overcome my reluctance.

"He dismissed me for the present, and I returned to my prison, where I related to my companion, Mr. Hall, every thing that passed between us: we canvassed the matter fully, and he agreed with me, that it was likely to turn out a most dreadful and cruel persecution. It was on this occasion that I felt the truth of the principle, that persecution never fails to be subversive of its own end, and to promote that which it is intended to destroy. There is, in the human mind, an innate abhorrence of compulsion; and persecution always gives new strength and elasticity to the soul; and at last, when strained to its utmost extent, it makes a man surmount difficulties which, at first, seem to be beyond the reach of humanity.

"Piqued by the idea of persecution, I began to feel a degree of enthusiasm to which I was before a stranger: I looked forward, with a kind of gloomy pleasure, to the miseries that brutal tyranny might inflict upon me, even to death itself; and already began to indulge the exultation of martyrdom. "No," said I, "my dear Hall! never will I tarnish the character of a British soldier—never will I disgrace my blood or my profession. I may, and I foresee I must be miserable; but I never will be base or degenerate!" Indeed I had wrought myself up to such a pitch of firmness, that I am persuaded the most exquisite and refined cruelties which the ingenuity of an Iroquois Indian could have inflicted on my body, would have been utterly incapable of bending the stubborn temper of my mind."

The place in which Mr. Hall and Captain Campbell were lodged, was situated in a way not very

very favourable to their feelings. Just within sight of it, the commandant of the citadel held a court—by him called a court of justice, where the most barbarous cruelties were hourly exercised, most of them for the purpose of extorting money, and compelling the discovery of supposed hidden treasure. Indeed, five sixths of those who suffered were of this description; and the process pursued was as artful as barbarous; they first began with caresses, then proceeded to examination and cross-examination, thence to threats, thence to punishment, and, finally, to the most cruel tortures.

Directly opposite to them, was imprisoned an unfortunate person, who had for years been a close captive, and the sport and subject of those enormities. He was a man once of the highest rank in the country where now he was a prisoner: for a series of years he had been governor and sole manager of the whole province of Bidanore. This was during the reign of the last rana, or queen, whose family had been sovereigns of the country for time immemorial, till Hyder made a conquest of, and annexed it to his other usurpations. Unfortunately for this person, he was supposed to have amassed and secreted enormous treasures, in consequence of which he had already undergone the fiery ordeal of torture several times. He was supposed to have produced, from first to last, about fifteen lacks of pagodas; and then, in the course of eighteen months, was degraded gradually, from the high respect in which he was at first held, down to a most abject state—threatened, flogged, punished in a variety of ways, and, finally, put to the most cruel tortures. But the fortitude with which he and all of them bore their punishment was heroic beyond all belief.

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Nothing could surpass it, except the skill and inventive ingenuity which the barbarians exhibited in striking out new modes of torture.

Mr. Hall, notwithstanding the various sufferings both of mind and body which he had undergone, began to recruit, and get a little better; and this circumstance, of itself, diffused a flow of spirits over his fellow prisoner that contributed to his support. They consoled each other by every means they could devise—sometimes indulging in all the luxury of woe—sometimes rallying each other, and with ill-dissembled sprightliness.

They at last began to conceive that they might form a system for their ease and comfort, and, by a methodical arrangement, entrench themselves from the assaults of grief: to this end they formed several resolutions, and entered into certain engagements, such as, never to repine at their state, *if they could avoid it*—to draw consolation from the more dreadful lot of others, *if they could*—and to encourage hope—"hope that comes to all;" and, on the whole, to confine their conversation as much as possible to subjects of an agreeable nature: but these, like many other rules which we lay down for the conduct of life, were often broken by necessity, and left them to regret the fallability of all human precautionary systems.

The youth and strength of Mr. Hall was to the full as adequate as that of his fellow-sufferer to the support of any personal hardship: his intellectual powers were excellent, his temper incomparable, and his fortitude unparalleled; yet it was easy to perceive that something more than appeared upon the surface wrought within him, and gnawed his heart with hidden pain. "United

as we were by sentiment, as well as by parity of sufferings," says Captain Campbell, "I felt for him too deeply, not to have a great curiosity to know what it was that preyed upon his mind: we had now been months together fellow-sufferers; and I thought myself not without some claim to his confidence—I told him so, and desired him to impart to me his story; which he, with his accustomed suavity and condescension, agreed to—assuring me, that it was not such a story as could requite the trouble of hearing it, or interest any one but himself, or some very warm friend indeed: such, however, he added, he took me to be; and, as such, would tell it to me. I think it well worth relating, and will give it in his own words, as nearly as I can remember them.

"Although you are now, my dear friend," says he, "a witness to my being the most perfectly wretched of all created beings, yet the time is not long past when fortune smiled upon and gave me promise of as much happiness as man in this wretched vale of tears is allowed by his circumscribed nature to hope for. I have seen the time, when each revolving sun rose to usher me to a day of joy, and set, to consign me to a night of undisturbed repose—when the bounties of Nature, and the productions of art, were poured with the profusion of fond paternal affection into my lap—when troops of friends hailed my rising prospects—when health and peace made this person their uninterrupted abode—and when the most benignant love that ever blessed a mortal filled up the measure of my bliss. Yes, Campbell! it was once my happiness, though now, alas! the source of poignant misery, to be
 blessed

of blessed with the best parents that ever watched
 for over the welfare of a child—with friends, too,
 to who loved me, and whom my heart cherished—
 d: and, O God! do I think of her, and yet retain
 er: my senses—with the affections of a young lady,
 me: than whom Providence, in the fulness of its power
 de: and bounty to mankind, never formed one more
 he: lovely, one more angelic in person, more heavenly
 on: in disposition, more rich in intellectual endow-
 h a: ments. Alas! my friend, will you, can you pardon
 it: these warm ebullitions of a fond passion? will you
 ery: for a moment enter into my feelings, and make al-
 ed: lowance for these transports? But how can you?
 to: Your friendship and pity may, indeed, induce
 will: you to excuse this interruption; but to sympa-
 re-: thize truly, and feel as I feel, you must have
 known the charming girl herself.

“ My father, though he did not move in the
 very first walk of life, held the rank of a gentle-
 man by birth and education, and was respecta-
 ble, not only as a man of considerable property,
 but as a person who knew how to turn the gifts
 of fortune to their best account: he was allowed
 by all who knew him to be the most tender of
 husbands—the most zealous and sincere of friends;
 and I can bear witness to his being the best of
 parents. As long as I can remember to have
 been able to make a remark, the tenderness of
 both my father and mother knew no bounds: I
 seemed to occupy all their thoughts, all their
 attention; and in a few years, as I thank God I
 never made an unsuitable return for their affec-
 tion, it increased to such a degree, that their ex-
 istence seemed to hang upon mine.

“ To make as much of a child so beloved as
 his natural talents would allow, no expence was

spared in my education : from childhood, every instruction that money could purchase, and every allurements to learn that fondness could suggest, were bestowed upon me ; while my beloved father, tracing the advances I made with the magnifying eye of affection, would hang over me in rapture, and enjoy by anticipation the fame and honours that, overweening fondness suggested to him, must one day surround me. These prejudices, my dear friend ! arising from the excess of natural affection, are excusable, if not amiable, and deserve a better fate than disappointment. Alas ! my honoured father, you little knew—and, oh ! may you never know, what sort of fame, what sort of honours, await your child !

“ Thus years rolled on ; during which, time seemed to have added new wings to his flight, so quickly did they pass. Unmarked by any of those sinister events that parcel out the time in weary stages to the unfortunate, it slid on unperceived ; and an enlargement in my size, and an increase of knowledge, were all I had to inform me that eighteen years had passed away.

“ It was at this time that I first found the smooth current of my tranquillity interrupted, and the tide of my feelings swelled and agitated, by the accession of a new stream of sensation. In short, I became a slave to the delicious pain of love ; and, after having borne them in concealment for a long time, at length collected courage to declare it. Frankness and candour were among the virtues of my beloved : she listened to protestations of affection, and, rising above the little arts of her sex, avowed a reciprocal attachment. The measure of my bliss seemed now to be full ; the purity of my passion was such, that the

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thoughts of the grosser animal desires never once intruded; and happy in loving, and in being beloved, we passed our time in all the innocent amusements which truly virtuous love inspires.

"As I was to inherit a genteel, independent fortune, my father proposed to breed me up to a learned profession—the law; rather to invigorate and exercise my intellects, and as a step to rank in the state, than for mere lucrative purposes. I was put to one of the universities, with an allowance suited to his intentions towards me; and was immediately to have been sent to travel for my further improvement, when an unforeseen accident happened, which completely crushed all my father's views, and dashed the cup of happiness from my lips.

"It was but a few months antecedent to my embarking for the eastern world, that my father, whom I had for some time with sorrow observed thoughtful, studious, and melancholy, took me into his study, and seizing my hand, and looking earnestly into my face, while his countenance betrayed the violent agitation of his mind, asked me emphatically, if I thought I had fortitude to bear the greatest possible calamity? I was horror-struck at his emotion, accompanied by such a question—but replied, I hoped I had. He then asked me, if I had affection enough for him to forgive him if he was the cause of it? I answered, that the idea connected with the word *forgiveness*, was that which I could never be brought by any earthly circumstance to apply to my father; but begged him at once to disclose the worst to me.

"He then told me that he was an undone man—that he had, with the very best intentions, and with the view of aggrandizing me, engaged

in great and important speculations, which, had they succeeded, would have given us a princely fortune—but, having turned out, unfortunately, the reverse, had left him little above beggary. He added, that he had not the resolution to communicate his losses to me, until necessity compelled him to tell me all the truth.

“ Although this was a severe shock to me, I endeavoured to conceal my feelings from my father, on whose account, more than on my own, I was affected, and pretended to make as light of it as so very important a misfortune could justify; and I had the happiness to perceive that the worthy man took some comfort from my supposed indifference. I conjured him not to let so very trivial a thing as the loss of property, which could be repaired, break in on his peace of mind or health, which could not; and observed to him, that we had all of us still enough, for that my private property (which I possessed independent of him, and which a relation left me) would amply supply all our necessities.

“ Having thus endeavoured to accommodate my unhappy father's feelings to his losses, I had yet to accommodate my own; and began to revolve in my mind what was likely to ensue from, and what step was most proper to be taken in, this dreadful change of circumstances. That which lay nearest to my heart first occurred; you will readily guess that I mean my love: to involve her I loved more, far more, than my life, in the misfortune of my family, was too horrible a consideration to be outweighed even by the dread of losing her. I knew not what to do, and I thought upon it till I became almost enfrenzied. In this state I went to her, and unfolded the

whole

whole state of our concerns, together with my resolution not to involve her in our ruin; when, can you believe it; the lovely girl insisted on making my fate indissolubly her's—not, as she said, that she had the smallest apprehension that lapse of time or change of circumstance could make an alteration in our affection, but that she wished to give my mind that repose which I might derive from security. This I would by no means accede to; and, for the present, we contented ourselves with mutual vows of eternal fidelity.

“As soon as I thought my father's mind fit for such a conversation, I opened to him a plan I had formed of coming to India, to advance my fortune. His understanding approved of it, but his heart dissented; and he said, that to part with me would give the finishing stroke to his misfortune: but, as my interest was tolerably good, I represented to him the great likelihood I had of success; at last, with some difficulty, he consented.

“My next step was to acquaint Miss —— with my resolution. I purposely pass over a meeting which no power of language can describe! then how can I?—Oh! Campbell, the remembrance of it gnaws me like a vulture here,” (and he put his hand upon his heart, while the tears rolled down his cheeks), “and will soon, soon bring me to my end.

“Not to detain you with vain efforts to describe all our feelings, I will confine myself to telling you, that after having made every necessary preparation, and divided with my much honoured parents the little property I possessed, I set sail for India, in a state of mind compared with

which the horrors of annihilation would have been enviable : the chaos in my thoughts made me insensible to every object but one ; and I brooded with a sort of stupid, gloomy indulgence, over the portrait of Miss ——, which hung round my neck, and was my inseparable companion, till the people who seized me as I came ashore plundered me of it, and thereby deprived me of the last refuge for comfort I had left. For never more shall I be blessed with the view of those heavenly features, till we meet in that region where all tears are wiped away, and where, I trust, we shall be joined together for endless ages, in eternal, never-fading bliss !"

On the day succeeding that on which the agent of Hyat Sahib had held the late discourse with our traveller, he was again sent for, and brought to the same person, who asked him whether he had duly considered of the important offer made him by Hyat Sahib, and of the consequences likely to result from a refusal ? and apprized him at the same time, that the command of five thousand men was an honour which the first rajahs in the Mysorean dominions would grasp at with transport. Captain Campbell told him, he was well convinced of the honour such a command would confer on any man but an Englishman, whose country being the object of Hyder's incessant hostility, would make the acceptance of it infamy—that although he knew there were but too many Englishmen apostates to their country, he hoped there were but few to be found in India willing to accept of any emolument, however great, or any temptations, however specious, to fly from the standard of their country, and rally

round

round that of its bitterest enemy ; that, independent of all those claims, which were of themselves sufficient to deter him, he felt within himself a principle, perhaps innate, perhaps inspired by military habit, that forbade his acceding ; and, finally appealed to the good sense of Hyat Sahib, whether a man, who in such circumstances had betrayed his native country, and sacrificed her interests to his own convenience, was such a person as he himself could prudently place confidence in.

Notwithstanding these and a thousand other remonstrances, the man still continued to press him, and use every argument of persuasion, that ingenuity could dictate, or hints of punishment enforce, to shake his purpose ; but in vain : attachment to his country and family rose paramount to all other considerations, and he finally gave a peremptory, decisive refusal.

After this time he was repeatedly urged on the subject by fair persuasives ; then they withheld the daily pittance allowed him for his support : and at length proceeded to coercion, tying a rope round his neck, and hoisting him up to a tree. All this, however, he bore firmly : and if it had any effect, it seems to have been to confirm him in his resolution.

Mr. Hall and he, thus driven to the brink of extinction, yet consoled themselves with the reflection, that those whom most they loved, were not sharing their unhappy fate, and were fortunately ignorant of their sufferings.

Thus they continued for many months, during which no alteration whatever took place in their treatment or situation. They heard a thousand contradictory reports of victories gained over the English, and again, of some successes on their part :

part: they, however, desisted to press Captain Campbell into their service. The only relief from his sufferings, and those of Mr. Hall, lay in the resources of their own minds, and their mutual endeavours to please and console one another: the circumstances of aggravation were, the necessity of daily bearing witness to the most barbarous punishments inflicted upon wretched individuals under the semblance of justice, and the occasional deprivation of their food, either by the fraud of the sepoy who attended them, or the caprice or cruelty of their superiors. We find, however, that these attendants were not all alike: some overflowed with mercy, charity, and the milk of human kindness; while others, again, were almost as bad men as the sovereigns they served. The Captain and his companion were not allowed the use of pen, ink, or paper; and very seldom could afford themselves the luxury of shaving, or clean linen: nor were they at all sheltered from the inclemency of the weather, till at length, a little room was built for them of mud, which being small and damp, rendered their situation worse than it was before.

The prisoner whom we have already mentioned, as having, in the time of the former sovereign, held the first office in Bidanore, still continued opposite to them; and the Captain and he at length began to understand each other, and found means, by looks, signs, and gestures, to exchange thoughts, and hold an intercourse of sentiments together. From the circumstance of his being a native, and of course, well skilled in the language, he had the best of intelligence, and was always eager to convey to his European fellow-sufferers any circumstance or news that he thought might

be

ain e agreeable : some messages also passed between
om em by means of the sepoy, who had alternately
the een his guard and their's ; for the guards were
ual changed every week.

er : Projects and hopes of a new kind, says Captain
ces- Campbell, now began to intrude themselves on
par- my thoughts ; and I conceived a design, which
ivi- flattered myself was not entirely impracticable,
oc- to effect an escape, and even a revolt in the place.
the A variety of circumstances concurred to persuade
ca- me, that the tyranny of Hyder, and of his servant
ind, Hyat Sahib, was abhorred, though none dared to
ke: ive vent to their sentiments. I thought I could
the observe, that the native prisoner opposite to me
ain, was privately beloved, and might, from the recol-
they ection of his former dignities, have consider-
were ble influence in the place. Several Arcot se-
and boys and their officers (some of them belonging
kury to my own regiment) were also prisoners at large ;
t all ad withal I recollected, that difficulties appa-
her, rently more stupendous had been overcome by
m of Englishmen.

their Fraught with these conceptions, I attempted to
ned, ound the officers of the Arcot sepoy, whether it
eign, ere not possible for us to effect our escape? So ar-
nued, ent is the flame of liberty in all men's breasts, so
e at, eat is the detestation of human nature to slavery,
ound, at I perceived a manifest willingness in the people
ange, out us to join me in an attempt to procure our
nents, berty, or bring about a revolt in the garrison.
ng a, ly heart beat high with the hope ; and I began
age, o flatter myself, that the time was not far re-
ways, moved, when we should not only bid defiance to
erers, ur tyrants, but even make them curse the day on
ight, hich we were cast ashore on their coast.

Having

Having thus distantly sounded all whom I thought were likely to concur, upon the practicability of the attempt, and found them as I conceived, disposed to take share in it, it yet remained to consider of the means, and, after having formed the general outlines of a plan, to lick it into shape. The first of these was a critical consideration; the second required address and management, and was likely to be impeded by the vigilance of the people about us, who would not fail to remark, and take the alarm, from any unusual intercourse or discourse between us; and without a mutual communication of thoughts, and full deliberation by all parties concerned, nothing could, with any prospect of success be determined—nothing, without the most imminent hazard, be attempted. I therefore held various councils with my own mind, and with Mr. Hall, on the subject—most of which proved abortive, without at all discouraging us.

At last I began to think of sounding the Bidanore prisoner, formerly governor of the place; and determined, if possible to bring him into our consultations, as I had before hoped to make him a party in the execution of the project: but while I was settling all this much to my own satisfaction, an event occurred which extinguished all my hopes in that way.

While the sanguine mind of our traveller was overflowing with the hope of carrying his project for an escape into effect, Mr. Hall and he were one day unexpectedly loaded with irons, and fastened together, leg by leg, by one bolt. The surprise occasioned by the appearance of the irons, and the precautionary manner in which it was undertaken, was indeed great: but still more was

the Captain surprised to observe, that the person who was employed to see this put in execution, manifested unusual emotions, seemed much affected, and even shed tears as he looked on.

From this unlucky event, our traveller received a temporary depression; and the rapidly increasing illness of Mr. Hall rendered his situation more than ever calamitous; but, again, his spirits, eagerly prone to grasp at every thing that gave a momentary hope of support, were a little recruited by confused rumours of the English army having made a descent on the Malabar coast: and so powerful is the influence of mind on the animal system, that Mr. Hall enjoyed from the report a momentary alleviation of his malady; having, however, no medical assistance, nor even sufficient sustenance to further the favourable operations of nature, he relapsed again, and the disease fell upon him with redoubled fury. A very scanty portion of boiled rice, with a more scanty morsel of stinking salt fish, or putrid flesh, was a very inadequate support even for his fellow captive, who, though emaciated, was in health, but certainly very improper medicine for a person labouring under a malady such as Mr. Hall's, which required comfort, good medical skill, and delicate nutritious food. To refine upon their tortures, even sleep was not allowed them uninterrupted; for they were disturbed every half hour by a noise something resembling a watchman's rattle, and a fellow, who, striking every part of their irons with a kind of hammer, and examining them lest they should be cut, broke in upon that kind restorative, and awoke their souls to fresh horrors.

Poor Mr. Hall was now approaching to his end with hourly accelerated steps. Every application that the Captain made in his favour was refused; or rather treated with cruel neglect and contemptuous silence; it was plainly to be foreseen, that the barbarians would not abate him in his last minutes one jot of misery, and that his amiable friend was fated to expire under every attendant horror that mere sublunary circumstances could create. But that pity which the mighty, the powerful, and enlightened denied, natural benevolence, operating upon an uninformed mind and scanty means afforded them. Hyat Sahib, the powerful, the wealthy, the governor of a great and opulent province, refused to an expiring fellow-creature a little cheap relief—while a poor sepoy taxed his little means to supply it: one who guarded him, of his own accord, at imminent hazard of punishment, purchased them a lamp and a little oil, which they burned for the last few nights.

Philosophers and divines, says Captain Campbell, have declaimed upon the advantages of a well-spent life, as felt in the dying hour. To witness one example, such as Mr. Hall held forth, would be worth volumes of precepts on this subject. The unfeigned resignation with which he met his dissolution, and the majestic fortitude with which he looked in the face the various circumstances of horror that surrounded him, rendered him the most dignified object I ever beheld or conceived, and the most glorious instance of conscious virtue triumphing over the terrors of death, and the cunning barbarity of mankind.

“About a quarter of an hour before he died Mr. Hall broached a most tender subject of conversation. Vol

conversation, which he followed up with a series of
 observations, so truly refined, so exquisitely turned,
 so delicate and so pathetic, that it seemed almost
 the language of inspiration; as, if in proportion
 to the decay of the body, intellect increased, and
 the dying man had become all mind. This con-
 versation continued to the very instant of his
 death; during which time he held my hand
 clasped in his. His hand grew cold: he said his
 lower limbs were all lifeless, and that he felt
 death coming over him with slow creeping steps.
 He again moralized, thanking God with pathetic
 fervour for his great mercy in leaving him his
 intellects unclouded, and the organ of communi-
 cation (the tongue) unenfeebled, that at the last,
 he might solace his friend and fellow-sufferer
 —“ Ah! Campbell!” continued he, “ to what
 a series of miseries am I now leaving you;
 death in such circumstances is a blessing—I
 view mine as such; and should think it more
 so, if it contributed, by awakening those people
 to a sense of their cruelty, to soften their rigour
 to you: but cruelty like their's is systematic, and
 too deep not to the control of the feelings. Could
 I hope that you would yet escape from their pow-
 er, and that you would once more press your fa-
 mily to your bosom, the thought would brighten
 till the moment of our separation: and, oh! my
 friend! could I still further hope, that you would
 one day see my most beloved and honoured parents,
 and tell them of my death without wringing their
 hearts with its horrid circumstances, offer them
 my last duties, and tell how I revered them.—If,
 too, you could see my —, and tell her how far,
 far more dear than —!” Here he turned
 his eyes toward the lamp, then faintly on me—

made a convulsive effort to squeeze my hand—cried out, “Campbell! oh, Campbell! the lamp is going out!” and expired without a groan.

Though the death of Mr. Hall had been long expected by our traveller, yet, having only considered and felt the point before his death, merely as it respected him and his misfortunes, a great portion of the calamity remained unconceived: and, now that he was dead, Captain Campbell began for the first time to consider and feel the subject as it concerned himself. Reflection told him, that his friend was happily relieved from woe, and in a state of bliss; but he himself still remained a prey to, perhaps, new barbarities, without hope of relief from the old. No partner to share, no social converse to alleviate, no friend to console him under his afflictions, he looked at the body of his friend with envy, and lamented that death had not afforded him, too, a shelter from the cruelties which fate seemed determined to heap upon him.

In the morning, a report was made to the commandant, of the death of Mr. Hall; and our traveller patiently waited for the removal of the dead body till the evening, when he desired the sepoy who guarded him to apply for its being removed. They returned, and told him that they could get no answer respecting it. Night came on, but there was no appearance of an intention to unfetter him from the corpse. The commandant was sitting in his court, administering, in the manner before described, *justice*! Captain Campbell called out to him with all his might, but could get no answer. Great now was his rage and consternation; for, exclusive of the painful idea of being shackled to the dead body

of a friend he loved, another circumstance contributed to make it a serious subject of horror. In those climates, the weather is so intensely hot, that putrefaction almost instantly succeeds death. In a subject, then, on which putrefaction had made advances even before death, and which remained exposed to the open air, the process must have been very rapid. So far, however, from compassionating his situation, or indulging him by a removal of the body, their barbarity suggested to them to make it an instrument of punishment; and they pertinaciously adhered to the most mortifying silence and disregard of his complaints. For several days and nights it remained attached to him by the irons. He grew almost distracted, wished for the means of putting an end to his miseries by death, and could not move without witnessing some new stage of putrescence it attained, or breathe without inhaling the putrid effluvia that arose from it; while myriads of flies and loathsome insects rested on it.

At last, when the body had reached that shocking loathsome state of putrefaction which threatened that further delay would render removal abominable, if not impossible, the monsters agreed to take it away from him, and he was so far relieved: but the mortification and injury he underwent from it, joined to the agitation of the preceding week, made a visible inroad on his health. He totally lost his spirits; his appetite entirely forsook him; his long-nourished hopes fled; and he looked forward to death as the only desirable event that was within the verge of likelihood or possibility.

One day, however, his opposite friend, the native prisoner, gave him a look of the most interest-

ing and encouraging kind; and he perceived a more than usual bustle in the citadel, while the sepoy informed him that they were ordered on immediate service, and that some events of great importance had taken place. From this feeble gleam, his mind, naturally active, though depressed by circumstances of unusual weight, again took fire, and hope brightened with a kind of gloomy light the prospect before him. He revolved a thousand things, and drew from them a thousand surmises; but all as yet was only conjecture. In a day or two, the bustle increased to a high pitch, accompanied with marks of consternation: the whole of the troops in the citadel were ordered to march; and the commandant, and a man with a hammer and instruments, came to take off his irons.

While they were at work, he perceived that they were also taking off those of the native prisoner opposite to him, who went away under a guard; they looked at each other complacently, nodded and smiled, as much as to express, "we hope to see one another in happier times not far distant." Alas! vain are human hopes, and short and dark is the extent of our utmost foresight! This unhappy man, without having committed any sort of offence to merit it, but in conformity to the barbarous policy of those countries, was, by the jemadar's orders, taken forth, and his throat cut! This the jemadar himself afterwards acknowledged to Captain Campbell; and, what was still more abominable if possible, undertook to justify the proceeding upon the principles of reason, found sense, and precedent of Asiatic policy.

In order to elucidate this business, it is necessary to recur to events which happened antecedent to this time; but of which, by reason of his situation, the captain was then entirely ignorant.

In order to relieve the Carnatic, which was suffering under the ravages of a formidable victorious army, descents upon the coasts of Malabar were planned, to make a diversion: and General Mathews, in January 1783, landed, with a small army under his command, at a place called Rajamondroog—took Onore, and several forts; and being joined by other troops, under Colonel Humbertson, and now commanded by Colonel Macleod, marched from Cundapore, with an army consisting of twelve hundred Europeans, and eight battalions of sepoy, toward Hussaingurry Ghaut, a pass that leads over those immense mountains which divide the peninsula, running north and south, from Persia to Cape Comorin. After surmounting obstacles that would have discouraged a less enterprising commander, he mounted the Ghaut, carrying every thing before him with the fixed bayonet; and reached, within a short march of Hydernagar, the place where Captain Campbell was confined. These operations were undoubtedly much facilitated by the death of Hyder Alli, which happened while the captain was in prison, and which drew the attention of Tippoo Sahib to affairs of more immediate importance, than the defence of the Malabar forts. And thus the reader perceives the occasion of the extraordinary revolution that so suddenly took place in the fort.

Ignorant of these proceedings, however, as our traveller of course must be, he was utterly at a loss to account for the so sudden resolution to release

him and his opposite fellow prisoner. He endeavoured to get some explanation of it from the persons about him; but all he could at the time collect was, that the jemadar had directed him to be taken out of irons, and to appear before him. He accordingly walked out of the citadel with two or three men, who had charge of him. It was a delightful afternoon; and his sensations on once more revisiting the open air; at again viewing the vast expanse of the firmament above, and the profusion of beauties with which nature embellished the earth beneath, insensibly led his heart to the most flattering presages: the animal spirit appeared, in correspondence with the body, to have shaken off a load of chains; and as he walked along, he seemed to tread on air.

Proceeding forward, they found, at some distance from the fort, an open dooly, into which the guards forcibly crammed him; and he was carried off, still attended by the same men. As they went along, his attendants gave him to understand that Hyat Sahib, the jemadar, was at a place ten or a dozen miles distant from Bidanore, and that it was intended to carry him thither. Our traveller thought it altogether a most extraordinary circumstance, and was at a loss to conjecture for what purpose he required his presence there. He thought, perhaps, it was to deliver him personally into the hands of Tippoo; perhaps to send him to Seringapatam. Suspense whetted his curiosity; and impatience to know his fate, set his mind afloat upon a wide sea of conjecture.

When they had got about a mile from the fort, they met a person attended by three others, all on horseback. He was a man of considerable

rank

rank in that country, and Captain Campbell recollected to have seen him at the jemadar's court, where he had manifested a favourable disposition towards him. The moment he recognised our traveller, he leaped from his horse, apparently in great agitation : then turning to the guards, ordered them to leave their prisoner immediately ; saying at the same time, that he would be answerable for the consequences. They seemed at first to hesitate, whether they would obey him or not ; but on his shaking at them his sword, and repeating his orders a second time in a firm and decisive tone of voice and manner, they all ran off.

As soon as they were alone, this gentleman revealed to the captain, that he had all along known who he was ; had most heartily pitied his sufferings, and privately entertained the most anxious wishes to serve him, but could not venture to interfere ; the least jealousy, when once awakened, being there always followed up by summary vengeance. He then mentioned his name ; that he was the son of a nabob near Vellore, whose dominions had been wrested from him by force, and united to the Carnatic ; that his family had received great favours from Captain Campbell's father, in return for which he felt himself bound to do him every service in his power : but that, having been, after the misfortunes which befel his family, taken into the service of Hyder, and holding then a place of consequence under him, he was disqualified from demonstrating his gratitude and esteem in the way he wished : he added, that he had just come from the summit of the Ghauts, where he left the English army posted, after their having beat the Circar troops,

troops, and carried all the strong works which had been erected for the defence of the passes; that the jemadar, Hyat Sahib, had gone thither to encourage the troops, and animate them to one grand effort of resistance, and would remain there till the succeeding day. Here he stopped, and seemed much agitated; but, recovering himself soon, said, in a solemn and alarming manner, "This day I heard Hyat Sahib give orders to bring you before him, in order that he might satiate his revenge by your death! How happy am I in having an opportunity to rescue you! I will carry you back with me, therefore to Bidanore, and place you in a state of security with my family.

"Such unprecedented generosity," says Captain Campbell, "affected me sensibly. To run such a hazard as he must have incurred, merely from a principle of gratitude for services so remote both in time and person, was more than we could hope to find even among Englishmen, who boast of their superior justice and generosity; but in a native of Indostan, where the tide of feelings runs rather low, was astonishing. As well as my limited knowledge of the language of the country enabled me, I endeavoured to make him a suitable acknowledgment, and lamented that my deficiency in the language prevented my giving vent to the extreme fulness of my heart. He seemed, however, to be satisfied with my meaning; and I was just on the point of returning with him to Hydernagur, when we were suddenly startled by the jemadar's music, which was soon afterwards succeeded by the appearance of his guards advancing towards us at some distance. He seemed confounded and alarmed; lamented in warm terms, his incapacity to serve me; and pointing

to a path which wound through a wood that lay on either side of the road, directed me to strike into it immediately, saying, that by following that route, I should certainly fall in with the British army. He then rode away, and I followed his advice, and proceeded for some time through the wood without interruption; for, though I did not implicitly believe the assertion, that Hyat Sahib meant to have cut me off, I deemed it prudent to avail myself of the opportunity which offered to effect my escape, apprehending a worse fate than death, namely, being sent prisoner to Seringapatam."

Finding himself fairly extricated, Captain Campbell began to examine his situation, and to reflect on the different conversations which had passed between Hyat Sahib and him, previous to his being put in irons. He recollected the information he had from time to time received, touching the jemadar's disposition, Hyder's death, Tipu Sahib's character and avowed hatred of Hyat, and the nature of the inhabitants. He moreover took into consideration, that his own strength was impaired, his constitution undermined; and that his prospects in India, in point of fame or emolument, could only be promoted by some extraordinary exertion, or some hazardous enterprise: The result of the whole was, a determination on his part to return back to the fort, and venture an attempt to persuade the jemadar to offer proposals for an accommodation to General Mathews, and to make him the instrument of the negotiation.

In pursuance of this determination, he returned; at about six o'clock in the evening he re-entered the fort, and proceeded to the palace of the jemadar

jemadar, where, desiring an audience, he was admitted. At the very first sight of the jemadar, he could perceive in his appearance all the mortification of fallen power. He received our traveller with a gloomy countenance, in which there was more of thoughtful sadness than of vindictive fury. After a minute's silence, however, he said to him, "Well, Sir! you have heard, I suppose, that the English army are in possession of the Ghauts, and doubtless know that the customs of this country authorize my proceeding against you with the utmost rigour." Here he paused for a few moments; then proceeded thus: "Nevertheless, in consideration of your family; in consideration of the regard I have for a long time conceived for you, from observing your conduct and strict adherence to truth in answering all my questions, and still more on account of the sufferings which you have sustained with fortitude, I will allow you to escape: haste you, then, away—fly from this fort directly—be gone!" Then waving his hand as a signal for him to depart, averted his face from him, and looked another way.

The captain thought this a very favourable opportunity for his intended purpose, and entreated the jemadar to hear him while he said a few words, of perhaps more moment to him than to himself. He again turned, and, nodding assent, while his eye bespoke impatient curiosity, the captain proceeded. "And, first," he says, "I expressed, in the strongest terms I was able, the high sense I entertained of the favourable reception I met with when I first came to the fort; assuring him, that I should never forget the kindness he shewed me on that occasion, and that in

my

my conscience I imputed all the sufferings I had undergone wholly to orders which he had been obliged to execute, and not to any want of humanity in himself. Here I perceived the clouds which had overspread his countenance begin gradually to disperse, and with the greater confidence proceeded to say, that if he would condescend to give me a patient hearing, and not take my boldness amiss, I would venture to intrude upon him with my advice. At this he stared at me with a look of surprise—paused; then said, that he authorized me to speak whatever I pleased; continuing, in a tone of gentle melancholy, “But of what use can your advice be to me now?”

“Having thus obtained his permission, I began by complimenting him on his great talents and temper in governing; on his fidelity, zeal, and attachment to Hyder; and on the mild and beneficent use which he was acknowledged to have made of the unbounded power vested in him by that great prince. I reminded him, however, that circumstances were at present widely different from what they then were; that he had now not a very different sovereign to serve; that he had no longer the tender father (for so Hyder might have been considered to him), but Tippoo Sultan, now the master, once the rival, whose measures he had always opposed, against whom he had once laid a most serious charge, and who, considering the firmness of his nature, could not be reasonably supposed to have forgiven him; and I hinted, that whatever external appearance regard Tippoo might, from the political necessity of the moment, assume, his temper, and the spirit of Asiatic policy, were too well known to leave

leave a doubt remaining, but that he would proceed against him with rigour and cruelty.

" Here I perceived the jemadar involuntarily nodding his head in a manner which denoted internal assent; and was convinced, that I had exactly fallen in with the current of his own thoughts.

" Having, therefore, gone as far on that point as I conceived to be necessary to awaken the mind of Hyat to the precariousness, or rather danger, of his situation with Tippoo, I painted to him, in the strongest colours I was master of the humanity, the fidelity, the bravery and generosity of the English, which, I said, were so universally acknowledged, that even their worst enemies bore testimony to them: and I assured him that if, instead of making an unavailing opposition to them, he would throw himself with confidence upon their protection, and become their friend, he would not only be continued in his station, power, and authority, and supported as heretofore, but made a much greater man, with still greater security than before.

" This was the general scope of my argument with him; but there were many more which suggested themselves at the time, though I cannot now remember them. I enforced them with all the power I had: they were supported by the acknowledged character for generosity of the English, and still more by Hyat's apprehensions of Tippoo; and they had their effect. That very night he authorized me to go to the British general; and, though he would not commit himself by sending proposals in writing, he consented to receive them from the general, and promised to wait for my return till day-light the next morning.

ld, morning; adding, that if I did not appear by that time, he would go off with his family and treasure to some other place, and set the town, powder-magazine, and storehouses on fire, leaving a person of distinguished character to defend the citadel or inner fort, and send immediate intelligence to an army of six thousand horse and ten thousand infantry, who were at that time on their road from Seringapatam, to hasten their progress, and make them advance with all possible rapidity.

“ Accompanied by a person who had officiated as interpreter between the jemadar and me, and whose good offices and influence with Hyat, which were very great, I had been previously lucky enough to secure, I set off at ten o'clock at night, on horseback, to the British army. My companion was in high spirits when we set out from the fort; but as we proceeded, he expressed great apprehension of being shot on approaching the camp, and earnestly entreated me to sleep at a choreltry, which lay in our way, till morning. His terror must have been great indeed, to induce him to make such a proposal, as he knew very well that we had pledged ourselves to be back by dawn the next day. I rallied him upon his fears, and endeavoured to persuade him there was not the smallest danger, as I knew how to answer the outposts, when they should challenge us, in such a manner as to prevent their firing. As we advanced to the camp, however, his trepidation increased; and when we approached the sentries, he was obliged to drag him along by force. Then his fears had very nearly produced the danger he dreaded, for the sentry next to us, hearing the rustling noise, let off his piece, and was retreating,

when I had the good fortune to make him hear me. My companion, alarmed at the noise of the musket, fell down in a paroxysm of terror, from which it was some time before he was completely recovered. The sentry who had fired, coming up, conducted us to a place where other sentries were posted, one of whom accompanied us to a guard, from whence we were brought to the grand guard, and by them conducted to the general."

Not less pleased than surprised was our traveller to find that the commander of this gallant and successful little army, was General Mathews, an old friend of his father's, and a person with whom he himself had served in the cavalry soon after he entered the army. When he arrived, the general was fast asleep upon the bare ground in a choultry. His dubash, whose name was Snake, recollected Captain Campbell immediately, and was almost as much frightened at his appearance at first, as the interpreter was at the shot of the sentry; for it was full five months since his hair and beard had been both shaved at the same time, during which period a comb had never touched his head. He had no hat; no stockings; was clad in a pair of very ragged breeches, a shirt which was so full of holes that it resembled rather a net than a web of cloth, and a waistcoat which had been made for a man twice his size; while his feet were defended from the stones only by a pair of Indian slippers. Snake, as soon as he was able to conquer his terror, brought the captain to the general, whom they awoke with great difficulty; but, on his discovering our traveller, he expressed great pleasure and surprise; for, though he had
heard

heard of his imprisonment at Bidanore, he did not expect to have had his company so soon.

Having stated to General Mathews the nature and object of his mission, and related to him what had happened in the fort, the general instantly saw the great advantages that must accrue from such an arrangement; entered into a full discussion of the business; settled with him the plan to be pursued in either case of Hyat Sahib's acceding to or dissenting from the terms he proposed to offer; and in less than an hour after his arrival, Captain Campbell was dispatched back to the fort in the general's palanquin, with a cowl from him, signifying that the jemadar Hyat Sahib's power and influence should not be lessened, if he would quietly surrender up the fort. Before his departure, the general expressed, in the warmest terms, his approbation of the captain's conduct; and added, that considering the importance of the fort, the extensive influence of Hyat Sahib, and the advantages that might be derived from his experience and abilities, coupled with the enfeebled state of his army, the benefits of such a treaty scarcely admitted of calculation.

Notwithstanding the flattering circumstances with which his present pursuit was attended, Captain Campbell could not help, as he returned to Hydernagur, feeling some uneasy sensations, arising from the immediate nature of the business, and from his knowledge of the faithless disposition of Asiatics, and the little difficulty they find in violating any moral principle, if it happens to clash with their interest, or if a breach of it promises any advantage. He considered that it was by no means impossible, that some resolution adverse to his project might have been

adopted in his absence, and that the jemadar's policy might lead him to make his destruction a sort of propitiation for his former offences, and to send him and the cowl to Tippoo, to be sacrificed to his resentment. These thoughts seem to have made a very deep impression on his mind, but were again effaced by the reflection, that a laudable measure, once begun, ought to be persevered in, and that the accomplishing a plan of such importance and incalculable public utility, might operate still further by example, and produce consequences of which it was impossible at the present to form a conception. These, and a variety of such suggestions, entirely overcame the scruples and fears of the danger; and he once more entered the fort of Hydernagur.

When Captain Campbell delivered the cowl to the jemadar, he read it, and seemed pleased, but talked of four or five days to consider of an answer, and seemed to be wavering in his mind, and labouring under the alternate impulses of opposite motives and contradictory passions. Our traveller saw that this was a crisis of more importance than any other of his life; a crisis in which delay, irresolution, or yielding to the protractive expedients of Hyat, might be fatal. To prevent, therefore, the effects of either treachery or repentance, he took advantage of the general confusion and trepidation which prevailed in the fort, collected the Arcot sepoys, who, to the number of four hundred, were prisoners at large; posted them at the gates, powder magazines, and other critical situations; and, having taken these and other precautions, went out to the general, who, according to the plan concerted between them, had pushed on with the advanced guard; and, conducting

conducting him into the fort with hardly an attendant, brought him straight to the jemadar's presence, while he yet remained in a state of indecision and terror. General Mathews, in his first interview with the jemadar, did every thing to re-assure him, and confirmed with the most solemn asseverations the terms of the cowl; in consequence of which, the latter acceded to the propositions contained in it, and the British colours, for the first time waved upon the walls of the chief fort of the country of Bidanore.

"Having thus contributed to put this important garrison, with all its treasures, which certainly were immense, into the hands of the company, without the loss of a single man, or even the striking of a single blow, my exultation," says Captain Campbell, "was inconceivable; and, much though I wanted money, I can with truth aver, that avarice had not, even for an instant, the least share in my sensations. 'Tis true, the consciousness of my services assured me of a reward; but how that reward was to accrue to me, never once was the subject of my contemplation; much less did I think of availing myself of the present circumstances to obtain it. The general, it is true, promised that I should remain with him till he had made some arrangements; and Hyat Sahib offered, on his part, to make me, through the general, a handsome present. The general, however, suddenly became dissatisfied with me; and I neither got Hyat Sahib's present, nor ever received even a rupee of the vast spoil found there."

When Hydernagur was taken possession of, Hyat Sahib immediately issued orders to the forts of Mangalore, Deokull, Ananpore, and some

others in that country, to surrender to the British arms. Some obeyed the mandate; but those three resisted, and were reduced by General Mathews. Rendered incautious by success, however, our army, it seems, became less vigilant, and Tippoo afterwards retook Hydernagur. In direct breach of the capitulation, he made the garrison prisoners, treated them with a degree of inhumanity which chills the blood even to think of, and in the end forced general Mathews to take poison in prison!

Captain Campbell, who, for his services, and from the friendship General Mathews had formerly had for his father, naturally expected marks of confidence and favour, was suddenly ordered away with dispatches from the general to the governments of Madras and Bengal.

During his journey, which was through the country of Tippoo Sahib, he had only six sepoys to conduct him; yet, such was the universal panic that had seized all classes and distinctions of people, at the progress of the British arms in that quarter, that he met only a few scattered sepoys, who were so badly wounded, that it is supposed they were unable to travel; the villages throughout being completely abandoned by all their inhabitants.

The sudden change of diet, which physicians say is dangerous from bad to good, as well as the reverse, conspiring with the mortification he felt at seeing things going on so very contrary to what he wished, and what he had reason to expect, had a most sudden and alarming effect upon our traveller's constitution; and he was seized on the road with the most excruciating, internal pains, which were succeeded by a violent vomiting of blood.

blood. At length, with great difficulty, he reached Cundapore, where the commanding officer, and all about him, did every thing in their power, to afford him assistance and comfort under his miseries, which increased every hour rapidly. He felt (he says) as if his inside was utterly decayed, and all its functions lost in debility: at the same time his head seemed deranged. He could scarcely comprehend the meaning of what was said; lifting up his head was attended with agonizing pain; and if he had any power of thought, it was to consider himself as approaching fast to dissolution. He had the sense, however, to send to General Mathews, to acquaint him with his indisposition, and utter inability to proceed with his dispatches. To this he received the following letter:

" Bidanore Feb. 3, 1783.

" DEAR CAMPBELL,

" I am sorry to hear that you have been unwell. Should your indisposition increase, or continue, so as to render you unable to pursue your journey with the necessary expedition, I beg that you will forward the letters to Anjengo by a boat, with directions to Mr. Hutchinson to send them, per tappy, [post, or express] to Palamcotah, and so on to Madras.

" I shall hope to hear of your recovery, and that you'll have gone to sea.

" Your's very truly,

" RICHARD MATHEWS."

The

The receipt of this letter induced him, bad as he was, he says, to make one other exertion; and he resolved, though he should die on the way, not to leave any thing which, even by malicious construction, could be made a set-off against his claims. He therefore hired an open boat to carry him along the coast to Anjengo, and set out with every prospect of having the virulence of his disorder increased, by being exposed in an uncovered vessel to the damp of the night air, and the raging heat of the sun in the day, and of being arrested by the hand of death in his way.

By the time he had got down the coast as far as Mangalore, his complaint increased to an alarming height, and he became speechless, and unable to stand. Fortunately, there happened to be a company's vessel then lying at anchor off that place, the captain of which invited him to remain on board with him, strenuously advising that he should give up the thoughts of proceeding to Anjengo, which he could not possibly survive, and to forward the dispatches by another hand. The surgeon of the ship joining the captain in opinion that he could not survive if he attempted it, and his own judgment coinciding with their's, he at length consented, and remained there.

Tranquillity, kind treatment, and good medical assistance, produced in the space of two or three weeks, so material a change in his health, that he was in a condition to avail himself, at the expiration of that time, of a ship bound to Anjengo, and which offering the additional inducement of touching at Tellicherry, determined him to take his passage in her.

When he arrived at Tellicherry, and during his stay there, the great attention shewn him

him by Mr. Freeman, the chief of that place, restored him to a great share of health and spirits; and here a very singular circumstance occurred.

One day a vessel arrived, and perceiving a boat coming on shore from her, Mr. Freeman and Captain Campbell walked down to the beach, to make the usual enquiries. As soon as the boat touched the shore, a gentleman leaped out of it, whose person seemed familiar to our traveller: upon his near approach, he discovered that it was Mr. Brodey, a gentleman who had been kind enough to take upon him the office of his attorney, upon his leaving India some years before—not my *attorney*, says he, in the ordinary acceptation of that word, but a liberal and disinterested friend, who obligingly undertook the management of my affairs in my absence, without the smallest hope of advantage. I was certainly pleased and surprised to see him; but his astonishment to see me amounted almost to a distrust of his eye-sight: he had received such indubitable proofs of my death, that my sudden appearance on his landing, at the first rush of thought, impressed him with the notion of *deception visus*. My identity, however, was too positive for resistance; and his wonder melted down into cordial satisfaction, and congratulations on my safety. He then took out a pocket account-book, in which, for security against accidents, he kept accounts-current, written in a brief manner, and shewed me mine, settled almost to the very day, upon which was transcribed a copy of a letter he had received, and which he thought was a testimony of my death. So, cutting out the account, and presenting it to me, he expressed in the most cordial and handsome manner, his joy, that it was
into

into my own hands he had at last an opportunity to deliver it.

Our traveller again embarked to proceed on his voyage, and in due time arrived at Anjengo, without any accident befalling him.

Leaving Anjengo, he set out for Madras, designing to go all the way by land, a journey of near eight hundred miles. He accordingly struck through the kingdom of Travancore, whose sovereign was in alliance with the English; and had not long entered the territories of the Nabob of Arcot, before Major Macneal, an old friend of his, and commandant of a fort of that district, met him, preceded by a troop of dancing girls, who encircled his palanquin, dancing around him until he entered the major's house.

It would be difficult to give the reader an adequate notion of those dancing girls. Trained up from their infancy in the practice of the most graceful motions, in the most artful display of personal symmetry, and the most wanton allurements, they dance in such a style and twine their limbs and bodies into such postures, as bewitch the senses, and extort applause and admiration, where in strictness, disapprobation is due: nor is their agility inferior to the graces of their movements—though they do not exert it in the same skipping way that our stage dancers do, but make it subservient to the elegance, and, indeed, grandeur, of their air. They are generally found in troops of six or eight, attended by musicians, whose aspect and dress are as uncouth and squalid, as the sounds they produce under the name of music are inelegant, harsh, and dissonant. To this music, from which measure as much as harmony is excluded, they dance, most wonderfully,
adapting

adapting their step to the perpetual change of the time, accompanying it with amorous songs, while the correspondent action of their body and limbs, excite in the spectators emotions not very favourable to chastity. Thus they continue to act, till, by the warmth of exercise and imagination, they become seemingly frantic with ecstasy, and sinking down motionless with fatigue, throw themselves into the most alluring attitudes that ingenious vice and voluptuousness can possibly devise.

That such incitements to vice should make a part of the system of any society, is to be lamented: yet, at all ceremonies, and great occasions, whether of religious worship or domestic enjoyment, they make a part of the entertainment; and the altar of their gods, and the purity of the marriage rites, are alike polluted by the introduction of the dancing girls.

The major, after having entertained Captain Campbell in the most hospitable manner, accompanied him to Palamcotah, whence he continued his route through Madurah, a country rendered remarkable by the revolt of the famous Isif Cawn.

Passing through Madura, he arrived at Tritchinopoly, where he met Mr. Sullivan, the resident of Tanjore, who furnished him with a letter to Mr. Hippefley, his deputy at Tanjore, from whom he received many marks of civility. At that place our traveller had the pleasure of meeting a gentleman with whom he had been at college, and for whom he had always entertained a great esteem; this was Colonel Fullarton, who favoured him with the care of a letter to Lord Macartney, then governor of Madras, in which honourable mention was made of his services.

Before

Before he left Tanjore, he had an opportunity of being an eye-witness to that extraordinary and horrid ceremony, the burning of a Gentoo woman with the body of her husband.

"The place fixed upon for this tragic scene," says Captain Campbell, "was a small islet on the bank of one of the branches of the river Cavery, about a mile to the northward of the fort of Tanjore.

"When I came to the spot, I found the victim, who appeared to be not above sixteen, sitting on the ground, dressed in the Gentoo manner, with a white cloth wrapped round her, some white flowers, like jessamins, hanging round her neck, and some of them hanging from her hair. There were about twenty women sitting on their hams round her, holding a white handkerchief extended horizontally over her head, to shade her from the sun, which was excessively hot, it being then about noon.

"At about twenty yards from where she was sitting, and facing her, there were several bramins busy in constructing a pile with billets of fire-wood: the pile was about eight feet long, and four broad. They first began by driving some upright stakes into the ground, and then built up the middle to about the height of three feet and a half with billets of wood.

"The dead husband, who, from his appearance, seemed to be about sixty years of age, was lying close by, stretched out on a bier, made of bamboo canes. Four bramins walked in procession three times round the dead body, first in a direction contrary to the sun, and afterwards other three times in a direction with the sun, all the while muttering incantations; and at each round or circuit

circuit they made, they untwisted, and immediately again twisted up, the small lock of hair which is left unshaven at the back of their heads,

"Some other bramins were in the mean time employed in sprinkling water out of a green leaf, rolled up like a cup, upon a small heap of cakes of dry cow-dung, with which the pile was afterwards to be set on fire.

"An old bramin sat at the north-east corner of the pile upon his hams, with a pair of spectacles on, reading, I suppose, the Shaster, or their scriptures, from a book composed of cajan leaves.

"Having been present now nearly an hour, I enquired when they meant to set the pile on fire: they answered in about two hours. As this spectacle was most melancholy, and naturally struck me with horror, and as I had only gone there to assure myself of the truth of such sacrifices being made, I went away towards the fort. After I had gone about five hundred yards, they sent some one to tell me they would burn immediately; on which I returned, and found the woman had been moved from where she was sitting to the river, where the bramins were bathing her. On taking her out of the water they put some money in her hand, which she dipped in the river and divided among the bramins: she had then a yellow cloth rolled partially round her. They put some red colour, about the size of a sixpence, on the centre of her forehead, and rubbed something that appeared to me to be clay. She was then led to the pile, round which she walked three times as the sun goes: she then mounted it at the north-east corner, without any assistance; and sat herself down on the right side of her husband, who had been previously laid upon the pile. She then

unscrewed the pins which fastened the jewels or silver rings on her arms: after she had taken them off, she shut them, and screwed in the pins again, and gave one to each of two women who were standing: she unscrewed her ear-rings, and other toys with great composure, and divided them among the women who were with her. There seemed to be some little squabble about the distribution of her jewels, which she settled with great precision; and then, falling gently backwards, pulled a fold of the yellow cloth over her face, turned her breast towards her husband's side, and laid her right arm over his breast; and in this posture she remained without moving.

"Just before she lay down, the bramins put some rice in her lap, and also some into the mouth and on the long grey beard of her husband: they then sprinkled some water on the head, breast, and feet of both, and tied them gently together round the middle with a slender bit of rope: they then raised, as it were, a little wall of wood lengthways on two sides of the pile, so as to raise it above the level of the bodies; and then put cross pieces, so as to prevent the billets of wood from pressing on them: they then poured on the pile, above where the woman lay, a potful of something that appeared to me to be oil; after this they heaped on more wood, to the height of about four feet above where the bodies were built in; so that all I now saw, was a stack of fire-wood.

"One of the bramins, I observed stood at the end of the pile next the woman's head—was calling to her through the interstices of the wood, and laughed several times during the conversation. Lastly, they overspread the pile with wet straw, and tied it on with ropes.

"A bramin

"A bramin then took a handful of straw, which he set on fire at the little heap of burning cakes of cow dung; and, standing to windward of the pile, he let the wind drive the flame from the straw till it caught the pile. Fortunately, at this instant, the wind rose much higher than it had been any part of that day; and in an instant the flames pervaded the whole pile, and it burnt with great fury. I listened a few seconds, but could not distinguish any shrieks, which might perhaps be owing to my being then to windward. In a very few minutes the pile became a heap of ashes.

"During the whole time of this process, which lasted, from first to last, above two hours before we lost sight of the woman, by her being built up in the middle of the pile, I kept my eyes almost constantly upon her; and I declare to God, that I could not perceive, either in her countenance or limbs, the least trace of either horror, fear, or even hesitation: her countenance was perfectly composed and placid; and she was not, I am positive, either intoxicated or stupified. From several circumstances, I thought the bramins exulted in this hellish sacrifice, and did not seem at all displeased that Europeans should be witnesses of it*."

From Tanjore our traveller proceeded to Negapatnam, which had been taken from the Dutch by the company's troops, and where Mr. Cochran, an old friend of his, was chief.

The communication by land between Negapatnam and Madras being interrupted by the

* This horrid custom, we have reason to think, is becoming obsolete; and we hope wherever the English have influence, they will totally put an end to it,

enemy's troops, he embarked in a vessel, and proceeded thither by sea.

"Hitherto," says Captain Campbell, "every step of my journey has been marked by occurrences so unexpected, and accidents so extraordinary, that I should feel some repugnance to relate them, lest my veracity should be called in question, were they not attested by so many living persons of respectability, and written documents of authority on record."

Arrived at Negapatnam, within a short run of Madras, the reader will naturally suppose that adventure was at an end, and that fortune, fatigued by the incessant exertion of her caprice, might have left him to proceed the short residue of his way without further molestation. It, however, fell out otherwise: she had marked him as her game, and resolved to worry him to the last moment: for, as they approached Madras, they were chased by a French frigate, and taken near Fort St. George.

Having struck their colours, the captain ordered them to follow, and steered to the northward. They obeyed him for some time: at length night fell; and, a fresh and favourable breeze fortunately aiding the attempt, they put about, ran for Madras, and luckily dropt anchor safely in the roads. "In the escapes I had hitherto had," says the captain, "there was always some disagreeable circumstance to alloy the pleasure arising from them.—In this instance, my joy was pure and unqualified; and I looked forward with a reasonable hope that the worst was all over."

After so many hazards and hardships as he had undergone, it was a most pleasing circumstance

to Captain Campbell to find himself in a society composed of his oldest professional connections, and warmest and sincerest friends: but this was a happiness he could not long enjoy; for, being charged with a mission from Hyat Sahib to the governor-general and supreme council, he was constrained to proceed to Bengal, and accordingly set sail for Calcutta, which he reached in little more than a week, without encountering any accident, or meeting a single occurrence worth the relation. Upon his arrival there, Sir John Macpherson, who was in the supreme council, gave him a kind invitation to live at his house, and presented him to Mr. Hastings, with whom he entered into a negotiation on behalf of Hyat Sahib, the correspondence on which subject is given by Captain Campbell, at length, in transcripts of the letters; but these, though highly honourable to our traveller, we may perhaps omit in this abridgment without much disappointment to the reader. Suffice it to say, that the final result was, a due encouragement given to the advances of Hyat Sahib, and satisfaction for the services he had rendered to the company's concerns.

Captain Campbell very gratefully acknowledges Mr. Hastings's politeness, and Sir John Macpherson's kindness and hospitality, during his stay at Calcutta.

While he was at the house of the latter, he happened, in conversation one day with Mr. Macauley, Sir John's secretary, to be talking over some part of his adventures, and found, to his astonishment, that that gentleman had, in his route to India, accidentally hired the very servant whom Captain Campbell had lost at Trieste.

by sending him for letters to Venice; and Mr. Macauley assured the captain, that he had found the man possessed of all the good qualities he had expected to meet in him: but the poor fellow had died before the captain's arrival at Calcutta.

As the season in which he was to leave Calcutta was very unfavourable for a voyage by sea, and the coast thereabout is one of the most inhospitable in the world, he set off by land for Madras, and in his way stopped at Vizagapatnam for a few days with Mr. Russel, who was chief of that place.

Leaving Vizagapatnam, he took his route along the coast, and arrived at Masulipatam, where he heard rumours of the unfortunate fate of General Mathews. This threw such a damp upon his spirits, that all the hospitality and kindness of Mr. Daniel, the chief, he says, could scarcely raise him from despondence; and on his arrival at Madras, he found the whole amply confirmed.

As Hyat Sahib's affair yet remained unsettled, and Captain Campbell considered himself in a degree pledged to obtain him some satisfaction for his services in surrendering the province of Bidanore, he determined to proceed to Bombay, notwithstanding the disaster of General Mathews, which had entirely crushed all his private prospects in that quarter, and to co-operate with Hyat Sahib in such measures as might yet remain to them for promoting the public good. He left Madras, therefore, and prosecuted his journey without any material interruption until he reached Palamcotah, where the chagrin arising from his various disappointments, co-operating with fatigue and climate, threw him into a fit of sickness,

ness, which confined him to his bed for five or six weeks. Upon recovering a little, he crawled on to Anjengo, where, at the house of Mr. Hutchinson, the resident (who treated him with great kindness), he waited for an opportunity of getting to Bombay, and during that time laid in a stock of strength and spirits: at length, a European ship touching at Anjengo on her way to Bombay, he obtained a passage, and proceeded.

At Bombay he found Hyat Sahib, it having been deemed expedient to send him away from Bidanore on the approach of Tippoo with his army. And now, as peace was negotiating between the English and Tippoo, and Captain Campbell's remaining on the Malabar coast could be of little use, he determined to return to the Carnatic. "And here," says he, "I have an incident to add to the many disagreeable occurrences of my life, in which, with intentions the most innocent, I was made the subject of obloquy and unmerited scandal.

"Just at the time I was leaving Bombay, a young lady, the daughter of a person formerly of high rank in India, and now a member of parliament, but whose name it would be useless to mention, wished to return to the Carnatic; and I, at the request of herself, and another lady, with whom she lived, unguardedly took charge of her during the journey. Before our departure, I reflected upon the difficulties and impropriety of this step, and communicated my ideas to the ladies, who, instead of listening to the objections I started, pressed me to fulfil my promise: I consented, purely from principles of politeness and good-nature. During the course of our journey, she unfolded to me, of her own accord, certain
acts

acts of cruelty and injustice she had suffered from her father, at the instigation of her mother-in-law, with a story of her innocence having fallen, and her reputation having been destroyed, by a relation of the lady under whose charge she was, and who, for that reason, had pressed her departure with me; and added, she was so disgusted with India, that she determined to quit it, and entreated me to assist her in the accomplishment of her wishes. I disapproved, in the most unqualified terms, of her project—gave her the best and most disinterested advice—and, through the whole disagreeable business which was imposed upon me, acted merely with a view to her honour and happiness; and several of the most respectable people in Palamcotah, where she passed some time, and at Madras, where she afterwards resided, could attest the delicacy of my conduct towards her, as well as the concern and interest I took in every thing that was likely to be of advantage to her.

“ This is a fair statement of the matter; and yet, on account of it, I was most infamously scandalized; and the scandal even reached the ears of my father, whom, however, I soon satisfied on that head. But that which stung me to the quick, was the conduct of some of my own relations (who, if they even could not justify or approve, ought, at least, to have been silent), in becoming the most virulent of my detractors—though, when the character of those very relations had, on former occasions, been reflected upon, I stood up and defended them at the imminent hazard of my life. To a man who had uniformly acted so, were there even no reciprocation of family affection, mutual justice demanded

ed different treatment from that I experienced, which could have sprung only from depravity of heart, poverty of intellect, and the most abject meanness of spirit. And what is remarkable on this, as well as on other occasions, those who had been under the greatest obligation to my father and myself, were the most inveterate.

"On the death of my father, looking over his papers, in the presence of the deputy-sheriff of Argyle, and three other gentlemen, we met with a letter on the subject, from the young lady's father to mine, reflecting in a gross manner on my character. I directly wrote to that gentleman, explaining the whole affair, and demanding justice to be done to my reputation. Upon an éclaircissement of the matter, he wrote to me a complete apology, acknowledging that he had acted on that occasion through misrepresentation, and had too easily given credit to ill-founded reports; and saying, that as the letter in question had, by the perusal of the deputy-sheriff, and other gentlemen, in some measure become a matter of public notoriety, he thought it incumbent on him to make that apology, and to express his sincere regret for any detriment I might have sustained by his yielding unguardedly to a sudden impulse of passion, caused, as he was then perfectly convinced, by misinformation.

"Thus was my character at once cleared of a calumny, which the industrious villany of a few had contrived to propagate through every spot of earth where I was known."

This story may serve as an instructive lesson to the reader, to avoid, in the first instance, any connection with women that, in the very probable course of things, can lead to private acts of confidence:

confidence: they are at best indiscreet—tend, as in this case, to make a man a dupe—and never fail to lead to scandal and reproach.

Before quitting entirely the Malabar coast, our traveller took a trip to Surat, where he was received in a very friendly manner by Mr. Seton.

His journeys by land in India, after his shipwreck, independent of long voyages, by sea, amounted, as he assures us, to more than three thousand miles. After getting back to Madras, his health being materially injured, he resolved to return to England: but yet, having seen almost all the company's possessions, he felt a curiosity to visit China, and determined to make that his way. To render this route more agreeable to him, Lord Macartney, in addition to his other favours, gave him a handsome letter of introduction to Mr. Pigou, the company's chief supercargo at Canton.

He had also a letter to Mr. Freeman, another supercargo there; by whom, as well as Mr. Pigou, he was treated with great politeness: and Mr. Freeman being obliged to leave Canton, and go to Macao, for the recovery of his health, invited our traveller to accompany him there, who availed himself of the opportunity.

While he remained at Canton, a very disagreeable rupture took place between the factory and the Chinese. An English ship lying at Wampoa, in saluting, shattered a Chinese boat; by which accident, two men in it were much hurt with the splinters, and one of them died of his wounds soon after. The matter was clearly explained to the mandarins; and they seemed to be satisfied that it was merely an accident. A few days after, the supercargo of the ship was forcibly

forcibly seized, and carried into the city: the council met, and determined to send for the sailors from the ships; and in the evening, after dark, fifteen or sixteen boats, with four or five hundred men, attempted, in an irregular manner, to come up to Canton, were fired upon by the Chinese boats and forts in passing, and, with a few men wounded, were compelled to retreat. Nothing could surpass the consternation and indecision of the council; and after the most humiliating language, they were obliged to appease the Chinese, and settle the affair by giving up the gunner of the ship to their resentment.

On the 29th of December 1784, our traveller embarked in the Ponsborne East Indiaman, Captain Hammet, in which he had gone from Madras to China; and, after a tolerable voyage of five months and two days, got on board a fishing boat off Falmouth, and was put on shore there, having been exactly four years and five days from England, during which time he ran through such a series of adventures, as were scarcely ever crowded into the same space.



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